

HOW TO MAKE A BILLION BY HARVEY O'CONNOR

THE *Nation*

February 26, 1955

20c

The Great Moscow Mystery

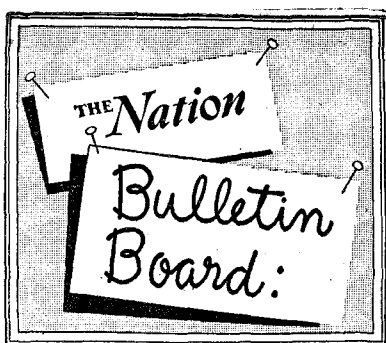
by Alexander Werth

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Focus on Washington *Max Freedman*

The Score on the Smith Act

A. L. Wirin and Samuel Rosenzweig



IN VIEW of the current confessions of ex-informer Harvey Matusow, the article by attorneys Wirin and Rosenwein in this issue takes on added significance. In December, 1953, they analyzed for *The Nation* the result of prosecutions under the Smith Act. Now they bring the picture up to date. Matusow, you will recall, asserts that, coached by Roy Cohn, he cooked up false testimony which was useful in the Smith Act prosecution of thirteen Communist leaders in New York.

The current interest in informers reminds me that *The Nation* was the first general news magazine to print a full-dress article on that gamey tribe back in the spring of 1954. If you haven't seen Frank Donner's round-up on *The Informer*, reprints are still available at ten cents a copy.

OUR DRAMA EDITOR, Harold Clurman, is on the move again. At present he's out of town preparing the production of William Inge's new show "Bus Stop" for a scheduled March 2 opening in New York. On March 4 he leaves for England where he will direct "The Trojan War Shall Not Take Place," Michael Redgrave starring. Result is that he will not be able to handle his regular reviewing chore for us. Until he returns in June play reviewing will be left in the able hands of our movie critic, Robert Hatch. First appearance, this week.

ANOTHER EDITOR on tour is Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Valo, who left for Europe last week for his annual reporting trip. His assignment is a formidable one this year, with the following items on his agenda: the effect of recent events in Russia; the situation in France minus Pierre Mendes-France; significant local elections due in Italy; the final battles over the rearmament of Germany; the East-West trade conference sponsored by the U. N.; the mounting political struggle in England between a Tory government committed to United States foreign policy and a Labor opposition united on a new approach to Asia; the atoms-for-peace conference due in Geneva in August.

So we said goodbye to him this time with more than the usual anticipation and interest. You can expect the first of his regular dispatches to start coming with the March 12 issue.

REMARKABLE tributes have been paid to the first of the series, *The American Writer* by John W. Aldridge which appeared back in October. Van Wyck brooks writes: "Nothing of the sort has impressed me so much in a very long time. I felt [Aldridge] had given a most perceptive analysis of the situation and said very many true and acute things."

The English critic, V. S. Pritchett, observed that the articles "on the American writer are brilliant writing, and say things which . . . I so firmly agree with."

SOME SUBSCRIBERS to *The Nation* continue to get their copies late. As was pointed out on this page last week, the magazine is now being printed outside New York City, and it was un-

avoidable that problems both of production and delivery should arise. Some of the production difficulties have already been solved. There will be further improvements, including the occasional use of color on our covers. The extremely important delivery problem—it affects only certain areas—will also be solved in due time. Meanwhile we ask again that you be patient with us and with the United States Post Office.

A FREE COPY of the latest *Nation's* Choice selection will be awarded for the following contribution to this column.

A dispatch in the *New York Herald-Tribune* of February 2 headed "Matusow's Lies Held Not Vital" ran in part: "A highly placed source, who asked not to be identified, said 99 per cent of Matusow's testimony merely backed up statements made by other witnesses."

Max Fleisher of New York sent in the item.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

More About Louisville

Dear Sirs: Jennings Perry's report on the Braden case in the issue of January 15 bothers me almost as much as the Braden case itself, because it fails to get the basic issues out where they can be dealt with. It seems to me that Perry's conclusion that Braden's communism was "unproved" and that his only crime was his helping a Negro to buy a house in a white neighborhood is an evasion of the issue almost as reprehensible as those of which the prosecution may have been guilty.

The case was long and complicated and raised many legal and constitutional points. But I think that to most lay minds it presents only two rather simple issues. The first is: Did he buy the house simply "to oblige a friend" or as a part of a Communist-inspired conspiracy, or publicity stunt, intended to raise a racial issue in Kentucky? As I understand it, this is the crux of the whole case, and comment which, like Mr. Perry's, does not clearly recognize the point is not too helpful.

Legalism aside, the state, in effect, sought to prove that the affair of the house was a Communist conspiracy by demonstrating that Braden was a Communist. This Braden denied under oath. The denial was upset by the "rebuttal" testimony of Ahearn, an F. B. I. plant, that she had recruited him into the Communist Party and that he was a member of a Communist cell. Assuming that Ahearn was truthful and that Braden lied as to his Communist affiliation, this would still be no proof that the affair of the

house was a Communist exploit in "seditious" propaganda. To point out that Braden was essentially convicted of a crime not clearly stated in the indictment, on testimony which was not properly assessed and which, even if true, would not have proved the real charge against him is surely legitimate. But to pretend that this charge was not made, or was not important, as Perry seems to do, is not legitimate.

The second issue is even simpler: Assuming that Braden was conniving at a piece of Communist agitation, is there any conceivable reason for sentencing him to fifteen years of prison in expiation? The crime, if it was a crime, was little more than the sort of disturbance of the peace for which people used to get, at most, a month in the county jail. Braden was not really or fairly tried on the actual charge brought against him, and his punishment is out of all proportion to anything he may actually have done. These are the two great violations of civil liberty implied in the Braden case. To me they are both shocking. But I don't think that Mr. Perry's piece, which really skips over the actual gravamen of the charge against Braden, will be of much help either to Mr. Braden or to civil liberty.

New York WALTER MILLIS

Mr. Perry's Reply

Dear Sirs: I agree completely with Millis that Braden was not "really or fairly tried on the actual charge brought against him" (sedition) and that his punishment is "out of all proportion to anything he may actually

(Continued on page 188)

The Shape of Things

Dangerous Vagueness

Secretary Dulles went before the Foreign Policy Association and a national TV audience last week presumably to clarify recent American actions and the intentions behind them. What emerged was more double-talk. Reiterating the Administration's well-known commitment to the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores, he fumbled the issue of Quemoy and Matsu, repeating the President's promise to "take into account" other "closely related localities" and adding that the United States does not propose "to defend these islands as such." Which leaves things exactly where they were before Mr. Dulles rose to speak.

The trouble seems to be that the Administration has tangled itself up in its inner conflicts and contradictions. Mr. Eisenhower has, we believe, consistently hoped and tried to avoid warlike clashes in the Formosa Strait or off the China coast. From the time of the Chinese Communist attack on a British airliner last July, when he refused to make a major issue of the shooting down of two American navy planes near the Hainan airfield and ordered American carriers to pull out of the area, to the day in September when he decided, against the urging of three of the four Joint Chiefs of Staff, not to intervene in defense of Quemoy, his position was firmly held. What weakened it at the beginning of this year was apparently the growing belief that Peking seriously intended an early attack on Formosa with the offshore islands as a starting point. Out of this came the President's statement to Congress and the Formosa resolution that followed, embodying on the one hand our abandonment of the liberation policy—Chiang Kai-shek's dream of an American-sponsored return to the mainland—and at least a partial retreat from the offshore islands, while on the other hand reinforcing our intention to hold Formosa. According to Joseph Alsop, however, the defense of Quemoy and Matsu was implicit in the President's proposal, was personally promised to Foreign Minister Yeh by Secretary Dulles, and was the basis of Chiang's agreement to evacuate the Tachens. Alsop further charges that the President "hedged" in order to "undercut the Senate opposition to the Formosa resolution."

Whether this is the correct version or not, the continuing ambiguity in American policy apparently resulted from an attempt to bridge the gap between Mr. Eisenhower's desires and Mr. Dulles's promises. It

is a most perilous ambiguity and should be cleared up at once. As the London *Times* remarked, it is hard to read any practical meaning into Mr. Dulles's qualification regarding the islands. "As such or not as such, the islands remain islands, the guns remain guns, and the dangers remain dangers." There is some satisfaction in the knowledge that the President wants peace; but events of recent days suggest that a sane solution of the Asian crisis is more likely to come about through the quiet efforts of Britain and India in Moscow and Peking than through Mr. Dulles's pronouncements or his operations in Washington and Bangkok.

Mr. Dulles Theorizes

Mr. Dulles's niggardliness with facts in dealing with Asia was balanced by an over-abundance of theory when he spoke of Russia. Drawing an ideological line between Soviet officials who put "national security" first and those who put the party ahead of country, the Secretary of State dreamed up a future in which negotiated settlements might be achieved and the historic friendship between America and the "new" Russia be reactivated. This fascinating prospect would depend upon a reversal of recent events, with Malenkov the moderate restored to primacy and Khrushchev the party boss diminished, even if its premise should be correct. But the premise itself is surely as hazardous as most of the other guesses going around. For no internal Soviet upsets have yet revealed any faction or leader who would assert that what was good for the party—in world terms—was bad for the nation, or vice versa. In fact, until Mr. Dulles spoke, we believed it to be Washington's view as well that the drive to extend communism throughout the world was a weapon of Russian national interest rather than an obstacle to it. If this is so we may have to wait quite a while for those "Russians of stature" to emerge who will brush communism aside and make friends with their opposite numbers in Washington.

Minks and Machine-Guns

Implicit in Floyd Barger's account in the New York *Daily News* of Vice-President Richard Nixon's visit to Guatemala is an incisive comment on American policy in relation to that unhappy land. According to Mr. Barger, President Carlos Castillo Armas stayed away from the great ball given in honor of the Vice-President because his machine-gun-carrying guards would have

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

- The Shape of Things 169

ARTICLES

- Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 171

- The Eastern Front:
Some Military Appraisals
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 172

- Great Moscow Mystery:
Policies and Premiers
by Alexander Werth 173

- How to Make a Billion:
Fables of Texas Oil
by Harvey O'Connor 175

- The Smith Act Score
by A. L. Wirin and
Samuel Rosenwein 177

BOOKS

- Puerto Rican Myths
by John V. Murra 181

- Guatemala Fable
by Bernard Rosen 182

- Argentine Facts
by Carleton Beals 184

- THEATER and FILMS
by Robert Hatch 186

- MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 186

- CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 608
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 188

- BULLETIN BOARD
by Martin Solow opposite 168

- LETTERS opposite 168

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo Foreign Editor

Martin Solow Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman Theater
B. H. Haggin Music
Robert Hatch Films
Gladys Whiteside Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, February 26, 1955, Volume 180, No. 9

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama, Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

seemed out of place. Said a source close to the President: "Where would we have parked Castillo's machine-guns, on the table or under the table"? The ball brought out "a glittering display of wealth. Fifteen hundred plantation owners and their mink and ermine-clad wives, plus the diplomatic corps, danced to two bands and drank toasts until early morning. Outside, barefoot urchins and poverty-stricken people gawked at the ostentatious show of wealth." It is this moneyed class—the comment is Mr Barger's, not ours—that "has been withholding financial support from Castillo, despite the fact that it was the first to cry out against the Communist-tinged regime of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman." From Guatemala, the Vice-President winged his way to San Salvador where, of course, he was wined and dined by representatives of the same wealthy class of whom the new York Times' correspondent reported (November 13, 1954) that they regularly put \$12,000,000 to \$15,000,000 a year from coffee profits in New York or Swiss banks.

Is the President a New Dealer?

One of the strangest myths of 1955 echoed noisily at the Lincoln Day meeting of Middle Western right-wing Republicans in Chicago—the myth that President Eisenhower is some kind of disguised New Dealer. Last week we pointed to the empty rhetoric of his message on public health. Still emptier of content was his message on education, which merited even the cruder Democratic gibes: aiming "a squirt gun to extinguish a conflagration" (Senator Neely); "a gimmick" (Senator Neuberger); "window dressing" (Senator Morse); "not half a loaf but not even 5 per cent of a loaf" (Senator Kerr). The President would provide only about \$65,000,000 annually in direct aid to education over a three-year period; conservative estimates place the need at \$500,000,000 annually. Tucked away in his budget message, moreover, was a \$50,000,000 cut in educational expenditures which even his critics forgot to mention. Forgotten, too, was the fact that the W. P. A. spent \$20,000,000 in direct aid to education and an additional \$200,000,000 for school construction; \$200,000,000 then was the equivalent of about \$600,000,000 today in view of increased costs. Not only would such low-income states as Mississippi and South Dakota be compelled to bear practically the entire burden of financing their schools under the President's program, but local taxpayers in these states would be saddled with the interest obligation on bonds held by Eastern financial interests, which would have been relieved of their fair share of school costs by unloading the obligation on the states and local communities. In attempting to palm off their impoverished and inadequate program as "positive, affirmative action" directed to overcoming an "unprecedented classroom shortage" the President has once again been betrayed by the hucksters who, it would appear, not only prepare his messages but put together his programs.

The NATION



Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

Washington
DIPLOMATS in Washington are repeating a phrase which Sir Winston Churchill used at the recent Commonwealth conference in London to emphasize the atomic dangers facing mankind. We have now reached a point in time, the British leader said, in which safety has become the twin brother of annihilation. The report by the Atomic Energy Commission on atomic fall-out gives somber urgency to that warning. Yet Admiral Strauss seems intent primarily upon stirring up interest in civil defense. Thus far the response to a bold suggestion from the *Washington Post* has been disappointing. Its call for a moratorium on further tests of atomic and hydrogen bombs has met with no encouragement from policy-makers. They are afraid to make overtures to Russia lest a gesture of co-operation be degraded into a symbol of weakness.

Meanwhile the tangle grows more complicated and more ominous. The State Department, before venturing on a new offer, is waiting for some dominant figure to emerge in Moscow. Russia's leaders, on the contrary, have prepared an ugly anthology of official statements by Americans to show that reliance on atomic power has become the primary instrument of American policy. This distorted image of the United States as a nation hunting an excuse to drop the atomic bomb may be no more misleading than the State Department's conjecture that the Kremlin is being shaken by a struggle for power that makes impossible any negotiations at this time on an issue so vital as atomic policy. How do we know? What have we done to find out if a constructive proposal would be heeded in Moscow?

Diplomacy has beat out its raucous refrain on the themes of suspicion and indignation. There has been almost no attempt, apart from Mr.

Dulles's obscure passage in his New York speech, to sound the language of moderation. When Mr. George Kennan tried to persuade Mr. Dulles, after Stalin's death, that a new chapter had opened in Russia justifying a fresh approach to the Kremlin, he was rebuffed. Mr. Dulles still remembers with bruised resentment the skill and logic with which Mr. Kennan shook the theory of "liberation." He is never eager to be tutored by Mr. Kennan's wisdom. Yet the bewildered conjecture which followed Stalin's death was a model of clarity compared with the contradictory estimates now being made here of Russia's next policies. The only difference is that the two giants are carrying bigger bombs all the time and their power to endanger civilization has never been so great.

The Atomic Energy Commission has touched only the fringes of its duty when it reveals the destruction wrought by atomic warfare. It should also be the leading agent in rousing President Eisenhower to the need of keeping the prospects for an atomic settlement on the agenda of American-Russian relations. Strength justifies itself in creative negotiations; otherwise it can become a burden to ourselves and a provocation to others. But it is so much more comfortable, even amid the accumulated horror of the hydrogen bomb, to take refuge in stale sophistries than to seek out adventurous ideas; and it is this mood of drifting and timidity which now governs the conduct of both parties as they improvise blundering expedients to the challenges of the atomic age.

PRESIDENT Eisenhower emerged from the trade debate in the House of Representatives with a narrow victory that reflected the Administration's timid leadership. Speaker Rayburn kept warning the Republicans of the growing strength of the protectionists. But the White

House delayed its challenge to Representative Reed, who has used his power in the Republican party since 1952 to block the President's trade program. When President Eisenhower finally intervened it was almost too late. Even this leaf-thin victory was extorted from the House by the pledge that no American industry will be hurt by reciprocal trade. We believe in competition but on our own terms and according to our own rules.

The Administration has won a reprieve rather than a final triumph. Now the contest will be resumed in the Senate where the rules of debate will allow scope for amendments. The central figure will be Senator Millikin whose opposition to the Randall report was as courteous as it was inflexible. Over this city there once again hovers the agitated suspicion that the President will shrink from leadership, even though his faith in freer trade is beyond reproach.

LIKE an east wind of anxiety, the news of the House debate chilled Washington, for it seemed for a time as if word would go to the world that Congress had abandoned the principles which have guided American trade policy since 1934. Approval of the present program will quicken and enlarge the currents of trade only slightly. But its defeat or mutilation would have bred immediate ill-will. Reliance on trade agreements would become a rope of sand. Many industries would try to escape from concessions already woven into treaties. The White House, except on the plea of national security, would be forced to follow the Tariff Commission. Soon a competition in reprisals would have deranged the sensitive pattern of world trade. Few Congressmen cared about these issues. For them the debate was mainly a scuffle over local interests. That is why Mr. Rayburn and Mr. Martin were so imperious in their reminder of the sanctions behind loyalty. They had to be firm because the President's advisers were so weak.

In the Senate the Democrats will be more united, the debate will be more enlightened, and the fear of Japanese competition less compulsive. Through all the changes and chances of the House debate there

gloomed the shadow of the Japanese trade treaty. Only at scattered intervals did the House forget its local anxieties. The administration will be inviting disaster if it relies on the

unassisted wisdom of the Senate. The events of the last week have made it evident that a major battle must be fought before the Senate will approve the Geneva trade sys-

tem. What happened in the House should warn the President that he must do something more with the Senate than make last-minute appeals to save his program.

THE EASTERN FRONT

Some Military Appraisals . . by J. A. del Vayo

United Nations

THE Security Council met briefly on the Formosa problem last week and did the best thing it could do under the circumstances—which was nothing. After an exchange of oratory the delegates adjourned in hopes that diplomacy could achieve what the U. N. obviously could not.

Meantime certain United Nations members are casting a measuring eye on the strength of the military forces confronting each other in the area of conflict. No one expected an immediate assault on either Formosa or the offshore islands: reports reaching here indicate no appreciable build-up of Chinese arms or men for an invasion of Quemoy. Contrary to earlier stories, the airfields of Fukien province on the mainland opposite Formosa are devoid of combat planes, and Nationalist aircraft fly over the area almost daily without meeting opposition. Despite this, most delegations share the opinion of the *London Times* that the "world undoubtedly faces a highly explosive situation." And with the Korean experience in mind, most delegates are demanding a cold appraisal of the military picture before they will permit the U. N. to embark on a second and even more perilous adventure.

Experts agree that aviation strength would prove to be the most important factor in a war over Formosa. Michael Gordon, Tokyo correspondent of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, cabled his newspaper on January 27 that "the combined air strength of the Soviet Union and Communist China in the Far East today is estimated to be at least three times that of the United States and the Nationalist Chinese." American air-force intelligence in

Tokyo, according to other reports, estimates that China and Russia have 8,500 planes concentrated in Northeast Asia. These estimates jibe closely with air-force intelligence in Formosa, which puts the combined strength at 8,000 planes.

In contrast Gordon puts the strength of the United States Far Eastern air force at about 2,500 planes. He adds that theoretically this force is "augmented by local air forces in southeastern Formosa, the Philippines, and Thailand, but these are still weak and possibly ineffective." Some American commentators pin their hopes on a build-up of the Japanese air force to effective operational level. But the day for this is still far away and has been brought no nearer by Tokyo's recent gestures toward Russia and China.

On the eve of the Tachen Islands evacuation the commander of the United States Far Eastern Air Force put the combined Communist air strength at "four to five times our own." Joseph Alsop, reporting about the same time from Formosa, said that "American experts here give the Communists the capability of attacking either Quemoy or the Matsus or both at any time."

If the figures for Communist air strength are even approximately correct, they indicate, according to military experts, that the Soviet Union has committed nearly one-third of its entire combat aviation to the Far East. This would seem to dispose of the theory, held in some quarters, that the Soviet Union is not really interested in helping China to recover Formosa. There is another point to be considered. The Soviet Far East air forces are based largely in northern Manchuria, particularly in the Vladivostok area. Any at-

tempt by American planes to chase their Russian opponents back to their place of origin, whether in "hot" pursuit or cold, will inevitably mean direct involvement of American aviation with Russian.

Politically there was abundant evidence last week that Moscow, though apparently seeking some way of reducing the gravity of the Formosa situation, was more firmly resolved than ever to give Communist China all the aid called for by the mutual-defense pact between the two countries. The anniversary of the pact offered a new occasion for both sides to emphasize the solidity of their alliance.

As to Communist China's army, experts already refer to it as the "second largest in the world." In the January issue of *International Affairs*, published in London by the Royal Institute, Lord Birdwood estimates its strength at 2,250,000, with an additional 700,000 "public security" troops in reserve. "It must be frankly admitted," the author concludes, "that Chinese armies stocked up with Soviet equipment and supplies could at this moment overrun Southeast Asia without effective opposition." United Press and Associated Press dispatches of February 4 from the Far East estimated that Communist China's ground forces total 3,500,000, including a million "security troops." Alsop wrote of "huge forces . . . now almost as well equipped as the infantry of the Soviet Union." He added: "In short, what the Communists can do if they choose to risk the consequences is only too grimly clear."

China's resources in man-power must not be forgotten. In a recent letter to the *New York Times*, Frede-

The Nation

rick Osborn, who served as deputy to the United States representative on the U. N. Atomic Energy Commission, remarked: "Would a mainland invasion exhaust China? She has over 25,000,000 births a year, so her man-power losses would be no disadvantage." Presumably Mr. Osborn is talking of a conventional war and not of an H-bomb war, which would be catastrophic to both sides.

It has been argued that the Chinese Communist leaders are so keen to get ahead with their first five-year plan that they will avoid war at any cost. But as the London *Economist* observed recently, "there is no reason why industrialization and an assault on a localized objective like Quemoy would be incompatible."

Today the emphasis in China, as in the Soviet Union, is on heavy industry. "Modern armed forces cannot be built without heavy industry," the *People's Daily*, the central organ of the Chinese Communist Party, has remarked pointedly. It should not be overlooked that Russian leaders have said publicly that the answer to the rearmament of Germany and to "United States aggressive preparations in Asia" lies in the acceleration of industrial output, particularly heavy industry.

Pierre Gascar, distinguished French critic and novelist, recently visited China and has written a series of remarkable articles in *Le Monde*. He describes the fight of the Chinese against their recurrently flooding rivers as "one of the major

aspects of the New China . . . abounding in heroic acts" and implies that they will fight for Formosa in the same spirit:

If one admits that the Western imperialist position on the continent of Asia represents a form of oppression but also a form of aggression, then one can see how China believes that it is fighting for peace when it seeks to liberate itself and all Asia at the same time. Peace therefore takes on the character of an epic. On the wall of the central station in Peking a huge inscription proclaims: "We must liberate Taiwan!" Fifty yards away a vast painting of Picasso's dove carries the legend: "Long live peace among the peoples."

This is the kind of China that the West will be facing across the Formosa Strait.

GREAT MOSCOW MYSTERY

Policies and Premiers . . by Alexander Werth

Paris
WHAT a field day it has been for the "Russian experts"! The "Bonapartist" bee in Isaac Deutscher's bonnet has been buzzing louder than ever; Crankshaw's melodrama, with the avenging ghost of Zhdanov appearing in the fifth act, thrilled the readers of the London *Observer*. The only two things that really mattered were slurred over, for our experts are never "deceived" by anything that is actually published by the Russians. Yet it was precisely what was published that, without explaining in so many words what had happened, gave the key to the great "Moscow mystery."

One thing is certain: Malenkov's strangely worded letter of resignation was clearly intended to produce a double psychological shock. Ex-Ambassador Sir David Kelly was undoubtedly right when he said in the London *Sunday Times* that the time had come when it was necessary to sacrifice a V. I. P., but he gave only one of the two reasons why it was necessary: he said Russian agriculture was in such a mess that it was important to impress upon the Soviet peasantry that something new

was now going to be done. In good Foreign Office style Sir David flatly denied that there was anything at all in the theory that the increase in international tension and the totally negative attitude of the Western powers toward Malenkov's conciliatory foreign policy was behind the shake-up. In fact, he denied that Malenkov's foreign policy was conciliatory, implicitly denying at the same time that the Western powers were in any way responsible for Malenkov's downfall.

There is not the slightest doubt, however, that the international tension had a tremendous lot to do with it. The more-consumer-goods policy and the greater-liberalism policy associated with Malenkov's name were possible only on one condition: that the danger of war receded, that long-term coexistence between the two worlds be rendered possible by the more forthcoming attitude of the Western powers. Instead, provocation followed on provocation—first, the rearmament of Western Germany, despite endless appeals and warnings from Russia ("it only shows that the Russians are weak and scared"), and second, the "ag-

gression" against China at Formosa and in the Formosa Strait. It was important to show the outside world that something in the Soviet Union had changed, and that the "weak" and "timid" Malenkov had been replaced. The defense budget was increased. Molotov, amid long and frantic cheering, said that the Soviet Union was far ahead of America in the production of the H-bomb. Bulganin in his first speech as Prime Minister declared: "We've got to call to order the lunatics waving their atom bombs at us."

In conclusion, Bulganin reiterated that "to preserve in the future our superiority over the armed strength of the capitalist armies, the Central Committee of the party and the government have carried out the tremendous task of supplying our armed forces with completely modern weapons and equipment. Our forces are capable today of fulfilling any task for the security of our country for which they may be called upon by the Central Committee and the government."

The experts do not seem to have taken the slightest notice of either the Bulganin or the Molotov speech.

February 26, 1955

Yet the very tone of these speeches is different from anything heard in the Malenkov days. What they say is that if the United States wishes to talk to Russia from "positions of strength," Russia can start talking from its own "positions of strength." Molotov warned implicitly that the Soviet Union would not stand by passively while Western Germany was rearmed, any more than it would allow China to be attacked. One of the main purposes of the Malenkov resignation was to draw attention to this.

The other main purpose was to produce a psychological shock in domestic affairs. That Malenkov should have given his "lack of experience" in agricultural matters as his reason for resigning is extremely significant. How much "personal rivalries" between the "Kremlin cliques" had to do with it and whether Malenkov will one of these days be accused of having "murdered Zhdanov" we are in no better position to know than are those who assert, without the slightest evidence, that that is the "real explanation."

Actually there is no need to think up such hair-raising thrillers, for a quite simple explanation is at hand. Under Malenkov the Western powers thought they could treat

Russia as weak and passive; and under Malenkov, too, the general public in Russia tended to take the line that life was easier and no very special effort was called for. This attitude was particularly common among the peasants, who have always been inclined to "take things easy" on the least excuse. Such a relatively easygoing "way of life"—of which the increase in drunkenness has been a striking example in the last few years—just did not fit the international situation; and while both Khrushchev and Bulganin promised increasing prosperity, it will clearly no longer receive the chief emphasis. It is noteworthy that the enormously increased consumption of food in the cities was at least partly blamed for the present difficulties, and Khrushchev made no secret of the fact that consumption was rising more rapidly than production. In normal times this could perhaps be tolerated for a period, but in view of the international situation it was necessary, as Khrushchev pointed out, for the government to accumulate large food reserves, and "something had gone wrong"; there was a growing discrepancy between food production and food requirements. Malenkov as Prime Minister was obliged, symbolically as it were, to take the responsibility.

Whether Khrushchev was deliberately attacking Malenkov—and Mikoyan—when he referred to the "consumerists," whom he compared, a little ominously, to Rykov and Bukharin, is hard to say. Undoubtedly a large number of Soviet officials were "consumerists," as was the general public, not unnaturally, and all these people would look to Malenkov and Mikoyan as "their" men. There is no evidence, however, that Malenkov was in favor of developing light industry to the detriment of heavy industry, even though the progress of the former was evidently going to be speeded up, and imports of meat and other foods were to be increased pending a great rise in Soviet agricultural output. As it turned out, the increase in agricultural output was disappointing.

As early as September, 1953, the Khrushchev report made some very severe comments on the state of agriculture and, above all, on the

state of stock-breeding. Plans were drawn up for enormously increasing the number of milch cows in the next two years, but the result has clearly not come up to expectations. The statistical report on economic progress during 1954, published on January 21 last, merely said, without comment, that between October 1, 1953, and October 1, 1954, horned cattle had increased from 63,000,000 to 64,900,000—cows from 26,000,000 to 27,500,000, pigs had increased from 47,000,000 to 51,000,000, and sheep from 114,900,000 to 117,500,000. These figures were nowhere near the targets set in the 1953 Khrushchev report.

It is not too late to look closely at the Khrushchev report of February 2—a document which has not received nearly so much attention in the Western press as it should have. After a sharp attack on the "so-called theorists" who imagined that at some stage of socialism heavy industry was no longer the main thing, Khrushchev got down to his main argument. Although technically Soviet agriculture was now very well equipped, it had one weakness: no sound foundation had been laid for a vast increase in stock-breeding, despite the immensely increased requirements. These increased requirements were due (1) to the rise in the standard of living—the sale of meat to the public had nearly trebled since 1940; (2) to the annual increase of 3,000,000 in the population—a figure quoted for the first time in the Soviet Union, and one with tremendous demographic implications; (3) to the migration in the last five years of 17,000,000 persons from country to town; (4) to the state's growing needs for immense grain reserves—obviously an allusion to the international situation; (5) to the need for a large grain fund for foreign trade. The total inadequacy of the fodder available was of course the basic cause for the lag.

There followed a long dissertation on the need for growing maize; it was planned to increase the area under maize in the next few years from 3,500,000 to 28,000,000 hectares. Maize, Khrushchev said, explained the great success of American stock-breeding. Now only grown in the south, maize should be grown even in areas where it did not fully

London

British politicians who blindly follow the Foreign Office were infuriated by Aneurin Bevan's charge, on the morrow of the Kremlin changes, that "the West must take its share of responsibility for Malenkov's fall." The left-wing Labor leader declared: "Malenkov was associated with, even if he was not the actual author of, the more liberal tendencies in Russia that have made themselves manifest since the death of Stalin. These took the form of loosening the grip of Russia on its satellites, a promise of a better life for the Russian people, and a readier disposition to come to terms with other countries. . . . It looks as though those Soviet leaders who were doubtful even if they were not actually opposed to this line have now concluded that Malenkov has failed. We left him with no cards to play. And so they have thrust him out of the game."

ANDREW ROTH.

ripen, because the leaves and stalks made valuable fodder. Altogether, the plans for increasing grain production between now and 1960 are on a grandiose scale. The opening up of the abandoned and virgin lands of Central Asia, Khrushchev

said, had already added two or three million tons, a figure which would be doubled next year. The general grain target for 1960 was at least sixty million tons more than present output.

The biggest internal problem in

Russia now is whether the great technical, human, and propaganda resources mobilized for this all-important economic purpose will produce results and, if not, whether the cities will have to return to austerity and rationing.

HOW TO MAKE A BILLION

Fables of Texas Oil . . by Harvey O'Connor

ON the theory that the more you take out of an oil well the less you have left, an ingenious tax theory has been evolved to assure the production of the biggest and most blatant crop of millionaires that the nation has seen since the "robber barons" flourished in the late nineteenth century.

The gimmick is "depletion allowance." The Treasury Department says it is the biggest of all loopholes in the tax laws, accounting for a loss of revenue of more than \$500,000,000 a year on oil alone. The tall fortunes of the Texas tycoons—some estimated up to half-billion—garnered in the past twenty-five years come out of the deep holes of depletion allowance. In some cases Uncle Sam finds himself unable to pry a penny from the income of these nouveaux riches. If a well is a "dry hole," that is a deductible loss; if it produces, then 27½ per cent can be deducted on gross income. When the accountants get through with the books, there is often little left for the Bureau of Internal Revenue to figure on.

So it is that Hugh Roy Cullen, Haroldson Lafayette Hunt, Clint Murchison, and Sid Richardson have been able to accumulate in a brief span of years what it took John D. Rockefeller half a lifetime of patient planning to pocket. Rockefeller was obliged to organize an oil empire the hard way; if the present-day

HARVEY O'CONNOR is the author of "Mellon's Millions," "The Guggenheims," "The Astors," "History of the Oil Workers International Union," and "The Empire of Oil," to be published next fall.

Croesuses have enough holes drilled into Mother Earth, a rigged tax structure assures them opulence. If Lady Luck smiles, they come within an ace of being able to buy up the entire United States. The country's only safety from such fate is that nothing pays off like an oil well; Eastern railroads, international airlines, Babylonian hotels—these are desired more as a pride of pomp and power than as a source of income.

The "Four Hundred" of Houston, and the flanking millionaires of Dallas, Fort Worth, Tulsa, and other Southwestern towns, are personal testimonials to the efficacy of depletion allowance. But the major oil companies—Esso's Humble, Socony's Magnolia, Gulf, Texaco—and a score of minor companies specializing in exploration and drilling owe their amazing profits to tax-deductible holes in the ground, sources of wealth whether they run rich with crude oil or "dry" with salt water. The smaller companies, unencumbered by the losses sustained by the majors in marketing, reveal the true delights of tax favoritism; Argo, Honolulu, Louisiana Land and Exploration, Midwest, Pacific Western, Texas Gulf Producing, Texas Pacific Coal and Oil regularly report net income ranging from 30 to 80 per cent of gross income. Add to these the unreported incomes of a hundred family or personal corporations, such as the Cullens' Quintana and the Murchisons' Delhi, and it is easy to see why the Texas crowd of "filthy rich"—so well celebrated in Edna Ferber's "Giant"—are elbowing polished Easterners out of Wall Street.

These men operate in a jungle of

"wildcats." A wildcat is a well drilled in territory where oil has not been discovered. On the average, says the American Petroleum Institute, eight out of nine wildcats are "dusters"—dry holes. It sounds like an unpromising way to earn money.

Here is where the tax laws come in. If the man behind the wildcat is in the bracket where 90 per cent of his income would go into the federal treasury, then wildcatting is Open Sesame! He can hardly lose so long as he keeps on drilling. The money he spends drilling eight "dusters" is deductible from his gross income. The income from his ninth well, a producer, is pretty much velvet, for all the "intangible" expenses, such as the preliminary geological work, and all the labor, equipment, and fuel costs of drilling are deductible. On top of that he can deduct 27½ per cent of his gross income on the well.

To illustrate: if the oil man is in the 90 per cent tax bracket and wells cost \$100,000 apiece to drill, he will spend \$900,000 on nine wells. The eight dry holes, however, will actually cost him only \$10,000 apiece, Uncle Sam assuming the rest of the risk. The ninth well, the producer, may be a mint, opening up a new field where a hundred good wells can be drilled.

THE theory of depletion allowance as applied to oil and some other minerals is quite unlike the depreciation allowed manufacturers. If a million-dollar plant has an expected life of twenty years, the owner may deduct \$50,000 a year for depreciation. But depreciation is not calculated that way on an oil well. If a



Courtesy A. F. of L. News-Reporter

"Stop! That's socialism"

well in which \$100,000 was invested produces \$500,000 a year for ten years and then is exhausted, ordinary depreciation allowance would be \$10,000 a year. But when it comes to oil, the tax laws do not base depreciation on the investment; instead, "depletion" is the key word, and the investor is allowed to deduct 27½ per cent of his gross income each year. In ten years the owner could deduct \$1,375,000 from his income tax on an investment of \$100,000. That the deduction is allowed him on a natural resource he never created highlights this as the most extravagant of all gifts from the public purse to private operators.

"I know of no loophole in the laws so inequitable as the excessive depletion exemptions now enjoyed by oil and mining interests," said former President Truman. Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota estimated that if depletion allowance had been dropped for ordinary depreciation, the entire tax increase on those earning less than \$4,000 a year could have been avoided in the 1951 tax bill. In 1947 oil companies were able to deduct thirteen times more through depletion than they would have been allowed through the depreciation claimed by other industries. While most big industries are paying taxes at close to 70 per cent of their operating income,

the oil industry is being tapped for about 25 per cent. The National Oil Marketers Association, feuding with the crude producers in 1953, estimated that the government could get a billion more in revenue by allowing "true" depletion instead of the flat figure of 27½ per cent.

For the oil magnates depletion allowance is the gateway to their private paradise, the touchstone of their national policy now that they have got the "tidelands." Before the portals stand guard the Texas Congressmen and their Southwestern confederates. When Robert Doughton, the conservative North Carolina Democrat, as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee wanted to slice depletion allowance from 27½ per cent to 15 per cent, Speaker Sam Rayburn, a Texan, leaped into the breach. "The Speaker," said Doughton, "was terribly against any change in the oil-depletion-allowance provision. I know he made that plain to other members of the committee. Personally, I thought that loophole ought to be closed, that it was wrong, but the others were so much for keeping it that nothing could be done."

As a result, the stocks of companies specializing in crude-oil production are the darlings of Wall Street. Financial consultants refer to oil stocks as "tax-sheltered invest-

ments," an observation that recently led the treasurer of Humble Oil and Refining, the biggest Texas producer, to complain that the stock tipsters were doing a "disservice" to the industry.

SOME Wall Street firms operate various games based on depletion allowance. In one such the minimum ante is \$50,000. If the wealthy gambler loses, he is out 10 cents on the dollar; if he wins, he can keep 27½ cents for every dollar of gross oil income and also keep 10 per cent of the remainder, to give him 35 cents retained on his high-tax dollar instead of the dime he would have kept without benefit of oil's special indulgence. For the big oil companies there is little risk of losing the dime that the individual speculator might hazard. Armed with the best geophysical information and hundreds of millions of dollars for exploration, they make the greater part of their profits exactly on this kind of operation. Production is their big money-maker, and depletion allowance is the key.

Sensitive to criticism, they contend that these allowances are vital to the expanded oil production needed for national defense. Without them, wildcatting would slow down; there would be little incentive to drill in unexplored fields. The resulting scarcity of crude would drive up the price of gasoline, and the consumer would ultimately suffer. So runs the argument. Actually, however, drilling is being pushed so hard, thanks to depletion allowances, that we now have a "shut-in capacity" of two million barrels a day in excess of what the market can absorb. And the price of gasoline and fuel oil goes up anyway!

Depletion allowance is the deepest taproot of reaction in the United States. The hard-faced political primitives of Houston and Dallas, fortified by these easy millions, can guarantee that the Democratic Party, if it tries to be progressive, will be ruined. They can damn the middle-of-the-road Stevenson as a "creeping socialist" and split the solid South in two. They can do the same to Eisenhower, and are doing it, and can rejoice when the Republican Party is torn in twain. H. L. Hunt, barely noticing the expenditure, finances Facts Forum, the nation-wide

radio and TV enterprise that equates moderation with communism. Roy Cullen can take a flier with the Liberty radio network, where John T. Flynn painted the United Nations as the minion of Moscow. To

fantastic hundred-thousand-acre ranches hidden away in western Texas and Mexico by these beneficiaries of depletion allowances come the leaders of native facism in the United States Senate and House,

for physical refreshment; in the deep pockets of these crude-oil kings can be found financial refreshment not only for election campaigns but for the bizarre crusades that bedevil American politics.

THE SMITH ACT SCORE

by A. L. Wirin and Samuel Rosenwein

IN AN article on Smith Act prosecutions published in *The Nation* of December 12, 1953, we reported on the cases that had been tried up to that time and on those pending. Convictions had been obtained in New York, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Hawaii. Trials were going on or were pending in Detroit, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Cleveland. Some defendants had begun to serve their sentences; others were free on bail during appeal. The score stood somewhat as follows: ninety-two persons had been indicted or were facing prosecution, fifty-three had been convicted, and three had been acquitted.

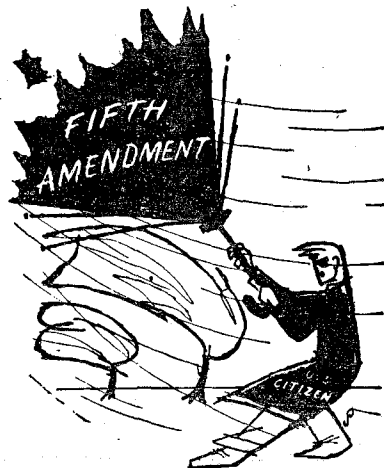
Developments since then can best be understood if we take another look at the provisions of the Smith Act and the reasons for its enactment. Historically all "speech" statutes display the tendency to unwind like an octopus, reaching out to embrace more and more persons who at first seemed removed from the application of the law. As Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr., has pointed out, "the precise language of a sedition law is like the inscription on a sword. What matters is the existence of the weapon. Once the sword is placed in the hands of the people in power, then, what-

ever it says, they will be able to reach and slash at almost any unpopular person who is speaking or writing anything that they consider objectionable criticism of their policies."

The Smith Act was enacted in June, 1940, with the avowed purpose of proscribing one thing—any attempt to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence. Its provisions were a small section of a very long bill fortuitously entitled the Alien Registration Act of 1940, and citizens generally were not informed that an anti-citizen section was being written into an anti-alien bill. It is considered sound practice by many politicians to initiate repressive measures against some minority group and rely upon the apathy of the majority who are seemingly not affected. Thus the Smith Act was smuggled through Congress with little opposition because it appeared to be directed only against aliens, and aliens had for some time been excluded and deported for "advocating the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence."

The tendency of a sedition statute to set more and more repressive measures in motion is exemplified by the events which followed the conviction of the Communist Party leaders in 1949. The ink had hardly grown dry on Judge Hand's affirmation of the conviction in the New York Court of Appeals when Congress enacted the Internal Security Act of 1950. Congress made a finding that the country was infested with "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations, all part of a "world Communist movement" intending to establish a "totalitarian dictatorship" by any available means, "including force if necessary." Such organizations were required to register with the Attorney General, revealing their membership, finances, and so on. A Subversive Activities Control Board was created to determine which organizations in the United States were Communist-action or Communist-front organizations.

To aid the board Congress laid down certain tests, including, for a Communist-action organization, the extent to which its "views and policies" did not "deviate" from those of a foreign government, and, for a Communist-front organization, the extent to which "the positions taken or advanced by it from time to time on matters of policy" do not "deviate" from those of any "Communist-action organization, Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement." Such organizations were required to stamp their mail: "Disseminated by _____,



A. L. WIRIN is attorney for the Southern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. As private counsel he has represented defendants in Smith Act prosecutions in Los Angeles and Hawaii. SAM ROSENWEIN is a member of the New York bar with a special interest in civil-liberties cases.

February 26, 1955

a Communist organization." All radio and television broadcasts were required to carry the statement: "The following program is sponsored by —, a Communist organization." Such organizations were denied all tax deductions and tax exemptions. Their members were denied governmental employment, employment in any "defense facility," and the right to a passport. The law also made provision for the "detention" of certain classes of persons in the event of an "internal-security emergency."

In vetoing this bill President Truman said: "The basic error of these sections is that they move in the direction of suppressing opinion and belief. This would be a very dangerous course to take, not because we have any sympathy for Communist opinions, but because any governmental stifling of the free expression of opinion is a long step toward totalitarianism."

SINCE the passage of the law the Attorney General has been keeping the Subversive Activities Control Board busy. The mills are constantly grinding and will probably continue to grind now that the Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia, by a two-to-one decision rendered on December 23, 1954, has upheld the validity of the measure. According to the majority opinion, Congress was well within its powers in enacting the law, provisions of neither the First nor the Fifth Amendment are violated, the law does not deprive anyone of his

liberty or property without due process, and the statute is not a bill of attainder. "We perceive," said the majority, "no basic reason why [the] government must stand helpless before activities such as these described in this statute." Judge Bazelon, dissenting, pointed out that the registration provisions palpably violated the self-incrimination clause of the Fifth Amendment. The matter will, of course, go to the Supreme Court. If the law is there sustained, the power of government over freedom of assembly and association will be virtually unfettered, the right of officials to declare what is dogma and what is heresy will be legally established, and outlawing and hunting heretics will become a well-regulated sport.

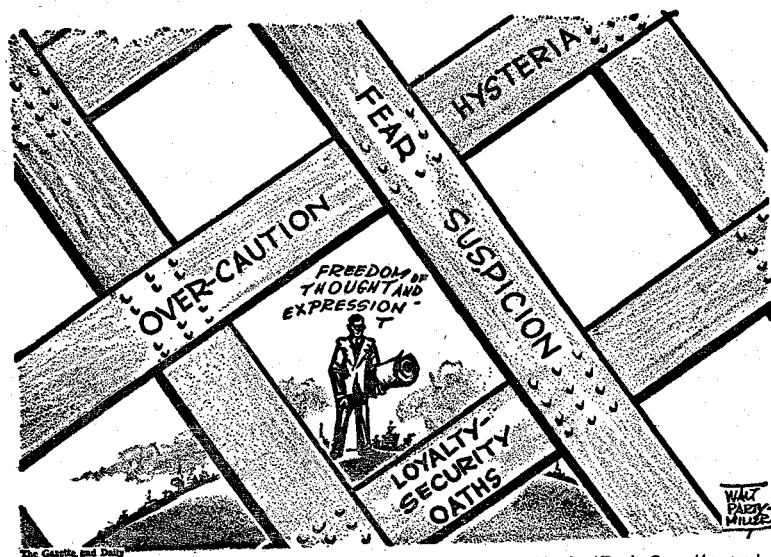
Thus even before the prosecutions had begun in earnest under the Smith Act, Congress had found that the "force and violence" concept was the stock in trade of "Communist organizations" and that such organizations were instrumentalities of a world-wide conspiracy to establish totalitarian dictatorships in every country of the world. These findings did not make the defense of persons indicted under the Smith Act any easier, even though Congress declared in the Internal Security Act of 1950 that "neither the holding of office nor membership in any Communist organization by any person shall constitute per se a violation . . . of any criminal . . . statute."

The findings of the legislature became a potent weapon in the legal arguments of the prosecutors at the

trials, while the proviso was largely evaded by giving the act a static interpretation wholly inconsistent with its legislative history and purpose. The jury was usually instructed, in effect, that mere proof of membership or office-holding in the Communist Party was not per se a violation of the Smith Act, but membership or office-holding plus attendance at meetings or at a Marxist school or plus any normal activities in behalf of the party might justify an inference of unlawful knowledge or criminal intent. The plain purpose of the proviso in the registration statute was to insulate all lawful attributes of membership and officeship in a Communist organization from criminal prosecution in order to avoid any claim of possible self-incrimination under the registration law. What Congress grudgingly extended with one hand the courts took away with the other.

During 1953 and part of 1954 the prosecutions continued without much difference in form or content. The courts seemed committed to the view that it was sufficient to read to the jury a mass of excerpts from Marxist-Leninist books from which the "principles of Marxism-Leninism" could be culled; that the opinions and hearsay testimony of informers as to the "nature and character and aims and objectives" of the Communist Party were admissible as evidence; that such evidence, coupled with proof that the defendants were members or officers of the Communist Party, was sufficient to justify inferences by the jury that the defendants knowingly and intentionally joined a conspiracy to advocate and teach the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence.

In February, 1954, the six defendants in Detroit were convicted and received sentences of from four to five years' imprisonment and maximum fines of \$10,000 each. In May, 1954, in St. Louis, five defendants were convicted, four receiving the maximum sentence of five years, one of three years. In August, 1954, there were nine convictions in Philadelphia. The trial of the ten defendants in Cleveland is expected to begin in the early part of 1955. Indictments against seven persons in Connecticut were



Screened Out Courtesy York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

returned in June, 1954, and against five in Denver in August, 1954. These were all conspiracy indictments.

The "score" may now be adjusted to read as follows: of 104 persons indicted for conspiracy to violate provisions of the Smith Act since the decision in the Dennis case, 71 have been convicted and 3 acquitted. These figures, and the ascending graph, have been used by the "statesmen" in Washington as an effective answer to the vagaries of Senator McCarthy. They are proof positive, it is said, that the country is "safe."

BAIL continues to be a vexing problem in Smith Act cases. Since the Supreme Court's criticism of the high bail fixed in the Los Angeles cases, the practice now appears to be to fix the bail at a point where it will be difficult for the appellate courts to disturb the "discretion" exercised by the lower courts. It must be noted, however, that it is just as difficult for a poor person to raise \$15,000, \$25,000, or \$40,000 as it is to raise \$75,000 or \$100,000. Some of the Denver defendants, as a result, have been in jail for more than four months, and their trial has not yet begun. It is difficult to prepare a defense under such circumstances, and the value of the presumption of innocence becomes somewhat illusory.

Some of the more prominent informers began to stumble badly last year. The courts permitted them to give free rein to their imaginations, the usual vice of hearsay testimony, and a national scandal appeared in the making. The *New York Times* devoted an editorial on July 8, 1954, to the "cult of the paid informer" and noted that "some informers have been caught in direct contradictions of testimony that smell strongly of perjury."

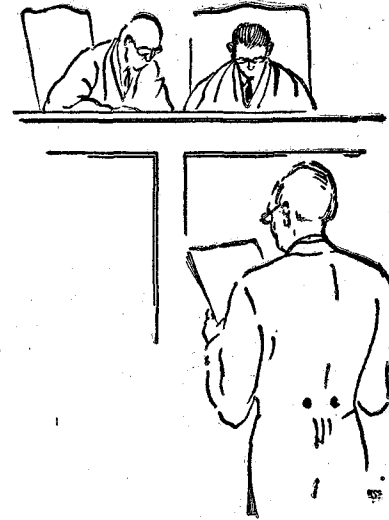
In January, 1954, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania reversed the conviction of Steve Nelson under a state sedition statute. Nelson, who was also convicted under a Smith Act indictment in Pittsburgh, had received a sentence of twenty years for his violation of the state law. In reversing the conviction the state court held that the Smith Act supercedes state sedition laws. The Supreme Court of the United States

granted certiorari, however, as soon as the court convened in October. How far the federal statute preempts the field must therefore await a final determination by the Supreme Court.

One heartening new experience has been the participation of broader segments of the bar in the defense of persons indicted under the Smith Act. Eminent members of the profession appeared in the Philadelphia trial, and some of the leading lawyers of Denver will take part in the trial slated to begin soon in that city.

In October, 1954, the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit affirmed the convictions of the thirteen "second string" Communist leaders in New York City. The opinion was written by Judge Harlan, soon to take his seat on the United States Supreme Court. The appeals were taken upon certain specific grounds, all of which were rejected. It was urged that the trial court had erred in instructing the jury that the hearsay declarations of alleged co-conspirators could be considered in determining the specific intent of any particular defendant; that certain inflammatory testimony had been erroneously admitted into evidence; that the trial court's finding of "clear and present danger" was without basis in law or fact; that some of the trial jurors had been guilty of misconduct; that the trial court had erred in denying certain motions for a continuance of the trial and for mistrials; and that the jury array had been unconstitutionally selected. A petition for writ of certiorari to the Supreme Court was denied on January 10, 1955. As the Supreme Court has stated on many occasions, the denial of such a petition does not mean that the court approves of what was done in the lower courts; it simply means that for one reason or another the required number of justices did not deem the case appropriate for review. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that the court did not grant review, for its failure to act may be misconstrued as a "green light."

IT IS high time for the Supreme Court to take another look at the Smith Act and the prosecutions under it. In the Dennis case the court purported to limit its decision



to the facts there presented. It indicated that it would review convictions if there were any attempts to expand the scope of the law so as to invade fundamental liberties. The present Chief Justice, Earl Warren, who demonstrated a pronounced aversion to broad loyalty oaths while governor of California and whose liberalism has been shown on the bench and in public addresses, has never had an opportunity to express his views on the Smith Act. The changed composition of the court and the widening scope of prosecutions since the Dennis case justify the present court in reexamining the entire legal situation to determine whether the limits set in the Dennis decision have been exceeded. The court then promised that it would review all Smith Act convictions "with the scrupulous care demanded by our Constitution."

That a cloud "no bigger than your fist" can grow into a seemingly limitless gray sky was made evident when Claude Lightfoot was convicted in January, charged solely with a violation of the "membership" provision of the Smith Act. The conviction indicates that the Department of Justice has found a streamlined formula for "membership" cases which runs somewhat as follows: Little time need be spent henceforth on establishing that "the principles of Marxism-Leninism" are equivalent to the advocacy of the "overthrow and destruction of the government of the United States by force and violence"; the Communist Party advocates the principles of Marxism-Leninism and therefore the overthrow of the government

February 26, 1955

179

by force and violence; X, identified by a witness as a member of the Communist Party as broadly defined by law, must have known or should have known, unless he was *non compos mentis*, that the party advocates such unlawful doctrines; therefore X, with such knowledge, must have intended to overthrow the government by force and violence. Such a formula, if permitted to stand, could lead to wholesale arrests of dissidents of all kinds.

The appellate courts will now have to face squarely the significance of the immunity provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the relation of the "membership" provision of the Smith Act to the plain language of the First Amendment, the problem of "clear and present danger" devoid of any conspiracy overtones, and the impact of the due-process clause of the Fifth Amendment upon legislation which punishes solely upon proof of membership in an organization without allegation of overt misconduct. More important still is the fact that persons are threatened with imprisonment in the United States, not because they did anything wrong or indeed said anything unlawful, but merely because they associated with other persons who allegedly advocated unlawful ideas. The idea of guilt by association is absolutely abhorrent to every American tradition.

It is also well to remember that the Smith Act is not limited to the Communist Party. Indeed, the first prosecution under the law was of Trotskyites in Minneapolis. Here the connection between the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act of 1950 should again be noted. There is no limit to the number of organizations which may come within the purview of the "force and violence" concept of the Smith Act. The membership clause of the Smith Act, if upheld, may well be used by the powers that be to entrap liberals and conservatives alike.

The public press reports that it is the intention of the Department of Justice to proceed under the membership provision of the Smith Act against each of the original defendants in the Dennis case as soon as they are released from jail. It is not too well known that when the Communist leaders were arrested

in 1948 they were indicted not only for conspiracy but individually for "membership." The prosecution sought to try all the indictments together but was compelled by the court to make a choice. It decided to go ahead on the conspiracy indictment, and so the membership indictments have simply lain dormant. Obviously, the government will have to explain why subsequent prosecutions do not twice put the Communist leaders in "jeopardy of life or limb" for essentially the same offense. The first defendant to test these questions will probably be Irving Potash, who was "detained" upon finishing his original term of imprisonment and then released on \$5,000 bail pending trial under the membership indictment.

THE octopus continued to unfold as the year drew to a close. On September 1, 1954, the President approved the Expatriation Act of 1954, depriving persons convicted of Smith Act violations of their citizenship. Thus the government holds a mortgage on every citizen. Failure to pay allegiance to the policies ordained by officialdom may result in foreclosure.

On August 24, 1954, the Communist Control Act of 1954 was approved. The title of the law is a complete misnomer, as any trade-union member would attest. In addition to "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations, we now have "Communist-infiltrated" organizations, and the Subversive Activities Control Board will soon attain an eminence which the Star Chamber and the Spanish Inquisition could never hope to reach. In declaring that "the Communist Party of the United States, although purportedly a political party, is in fact an instrumentality of a conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States," the "statesmen" in Washington did more than attain a particular group or persons in the United States. The overwhelming majority of the people in the country are engulfed. The measure sets forth thirteen specific tests for "determining membership or participation in the Communist Party or any other organization defined in this act." One will serve as an example: "... has indicated by word, action, conduct, writing, or

in any other way a willingness to carry out in any manner and to any degree the plans, designs, objectives, or purposes of the organization." There does not appear to be any historical parallel to outlawry on such a grand scale.

It is plain that we are losing our liberties legally. If the process continues, it will leave democracy a mere shell. Those who really embrace democracy should begin a return to first principles. Those principles are readily available in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. What is needed is a will to preserve our institutions, a realization that the only way to preserve the government of the United States is to make the government subservient to the will of the people as expressed in the fundamental law. One sign of this new insight might be the repeal of the Smith Act, the end of all prosecutions thereunder, and pardon for those already convicted.

Happily for the country, the people do not seem to be waiting upon the politicians to see the light. The year 1954 was characterized by a slackening of the repressive process as a result of the growing protest against the abuse of office by officialdom. The results of the elections were on the whole beneficial for the cause of civil liberties. The observance of procedural safeguards was more strongly emphasized. There remains the need for a clearer recognition of the fact that government has no power to deprive a person of freedom of speech or assembly, even by "due process of law."



Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch
*"Everyone is a little subversive
 but thee and me, and sometimes
 I think even thee—"*

The NATION

BOOKS

Puerto Rican Myths

TRANSFORMATION: THE STORY OF MODERN PUERTO RICO. By Earl Parker Hanson. Simon and Schuster. \$5.

By John V. Murra

A MYTH about Puerto Rico has long had credence here: it is Uncle Sam's tropical poorhouse, the breeder of absent-minded trigger men; like a delinquent cowbird it unloads its children on New York's doorsteps; here they insist on having two last names to confuse teachers and social workers; one cannot tell whether they are colored or white and somehow they do not seem to care; even the language they speak, I have been told in confidence by my grocer, is a mysterious variety different from all other Spanish. When I assured him that it wasn't, he looked surreptitiously at my hair.

And now among the "well-informed" another myth is developing; it can be seen in the full-page advertisements picturing the smokestacks of Mr. Ferre's cement factory and the foaming spillway of the Canoniallas dam, in the statistical tables showing 335 new industrial plants established since 1948 by "Operation Bootstrap." This is the myth that Mr. Hanson helps to document.

"Transformation" gives a graphic and accurate story of Puerto Rico during the depression. In 1940, when Luis Munoz Marin, Mr. Hanson's hero, came to power, a new breath invigorated public life, and real issues came up for discussion. Munoz was the first to apply the dormant land-tenure act, passed in 1910, which limited corporations to 500 acres. Several of the American-owned sugar plantations were bought; the insular government, not foreign corporations, is today the largest single cane-grower in the island. There is now almost com-

JOHN V. MURRA taught for several years at the University of Puerto Rico and directed a field study of six communities on the island.

February 26, 1955

plete self-government in local affairs; all legislators, the governor, department heads, and even the federal judge are Puerto Ricans; the only Americans left in policy-making posts are the two Catholic bishops.

Every four years since 1940 Munoz has been reelected with large majorities, and the chances are that the cane workers' vote will reelect him again. Munoz was the first to go into the countryside to talk of land to the cane workers, of rural credit to the mountain coffee farmer, of housing, away from the plantation barracks. In his own field work the reviewer once stayed overnight in the shack of a cane cutter; the hammock he spent the night in was the object of almost reverence—in more heroic days Don Luis had slept there.

Mr. Hanson puts his hope in Munoz's Operation Bootstrap, under which industry has been attracted to the island by remission of taxes, cheap factory buildings, low wages, and access to the greatest consumers' market in the world. The search for new investors is today a major government activity. The new plants can be seen all over the island; the effort has attracted the attention of students from all over the world. With the aid of modern publicity a myth is forming that here is a valuable lesson in industrialization for colonial, underdeveloped countries.

At this point one can no longer share Mr. Hanson's enthusiasm. The new industries do exist, but the 335 plants employ at most 25,000 workers. With few exceptions they are small units engaged in the garment and lingerie trades—fly-by-night enterprises, easy to dismantle, employing women at low wages, and highly sensitive to the slightest breeze of recession in the United States. The measure of the limited effectiveness of Operation Bootstrap is the cold fact that in 1948-54, when these 25,000 new jobs were being created at immense cost to the Puerto Rican taxpayer, 295,866 of the youngest and most vigorous in-

habitants left the island, most of them for good. During the war 70,000 Puerto Ricans joined the army, sent allotments home, and acquired G. I. rights. In a depressed economy like Puerto Rico this had a striking effect and was a principal cause of the war-time and post-war prosperity which Puerto Rico, like the United States, has enjoyed.

ACCORDING to the new myth, the economic improvement is matched by a major political innovation. Since 1952 Puerto Rico has been a Free Associated State, enjoying a new "non-colonial" status. Starting from the premise that in the modern world very few countries are really sovereign states, Mr. Hanson finds obsolete the whole discussion of independence for Puerto Rico. He sees its current status as a major accomplishment. In any case independence and the erection of a tariff wall would doom the island economically.

Actually, the new constitution has changed Puerto Rico's status very little. The United States Congress still has veto rights over insular legislation; there is no real representation in Congress for the island's two million people; they have no voice in foreign affairs. Even Munoz's great skill as a negotiator was inadequate to remove a restriction that is irritatingly indicative of colonial status: with sugar its main economic activity Puerto Rico is still not allowed to refine even enough for its own needs; it ships the molasses to the mainland and buys back the refined article. Mr. Hanson quotes an estimate that 8,000 jobs could be created if the sugar grown in the island were locally refined.

Mr. Hanson's assertion that Puerto Rico's status corresponds to that of India or Indonesia is misleading. When the United States informed the U. N. that the territory was no longer a colony, Burma, Mexico, and India disagreed, finding no significant change from previous dependency. Mr. Hanson devotes little space to this debate, which, to the reviewer, provided essential information on both sides of the issue. Nor does he give an accurate account of the current struggle for independence. By concentrating on Albizu Campos and his terrorist tactics he obscures the

A Man's Best Friend — Sends Him a Free Copy of The Nation

HERE'S an easy way to introduce *The Nation*—the magazine you read and respect—to your friends. Simply fill out the coupon below and we will send a sample copy to each one of your friends—with your compliments.

The NATION

333 Sixth Avenue
New York City 14, N. Y.

Please send a free copy of *The Nation* with my compliments to the persons listed below:

To
Address
City Z. State

To
Address
City Z. State

To
Address
City Z. State

To
Address
City Z. State

To
Address
City Z. State

To
Address
City Z. State

To
Address
City Z. State

Your Name
Address
City Z. State

2-26-55

vitality of the independence ideal throughout the community. The jumbling and certainly non-terrorist Independence Party received 20 per cent of the vote in the last elections. Its admitted ineffectiveness, its lack of economic ideas, and its flirtation with clericalism should not divert us from noting that independence is a potent dream, particularly among those under thirty, the veterans, and the urban population. Within Munoz Marin's own party many would prefer independence if only it were economically feasible.

Puerto Rico today has more literacy, lower infant mortality, higher life expectancy, and more pairs of shoes per pairs of feet than any Latin American country. And yet, as Mr. Hanson points out, "per capita average income is less than half of that of our poorest state, Mississippi; wages are considerably lower than in the United States; there is still, proportionally, more unemployment and more and greater poverty." Despite the effort and ingenuity exerted in the last decade, the greatest gains during the

Munoz years "have been psychological. New energies were released for new creative enterprises; the former lethargy gave way to new hope." But the economic problem of a dependent, densely populated Caribbean territory, where the only resource is the people, remains unsolved. Also, the deeper consequences of dependency—the population's crippling ambivalence about the master and itself, of which terrorism is only one example—will continue and even grow, despite the title of "Free Associated State."

Mr. Hanson relates a revealing anecdote. A group of prominent Latin Americans were brought to San Juan in 1952. Munoz Marin, a magnificent speaker, addressed them informally, and Mr. Hanson wrote out a summary of his talk which he asked the Governor to check. "I don't talk that way," Munoz replied. "That is a sales talk. You can't sell truth with sales talks. In fact, you don't even 'sell' truth. You live it, express it, lay it out under the sun." Unfortunately, his hero did not convince Mr. Hanson.

Guatemala Fable

RED DESIGN FOR THE AMERICAS: GUATEMALAN PRELUDE. By Daniel James. The John Day Company. \$4.50.

By Bernard Rosen

MR. JAMES tries to show us that the Communists, through their infiltration of the nationalist parties and government offices and their control of the labor and peasant movements, almost succeeded in taking over Guatemala under Arbenz. Arbenz played their game since he was a "Communist-minded president," a totalitarian who "believed in the class struggle and hence in the literal annihilation of the bourgeois class." But Mr. James fails to

make a case for his contention. Apparently he does not understand the dynamics of Latin American politics. Although he constantly refers to nationalism and distinguishes it from communism, he never points out the class roots of nationalism. A similar reticence is the most hypocritical feature of Washington's Guatemalan policy.

Many non-Communist nationalists, by Mr. James's own admission, collaborated with the Communists, including the strategically placed Charnaud Macdonald, Minister of Interior. (Mr. James does not mention Fanjul, Arbenz's Minister of Economy.) Arbenz's rule, in fact, rested on a petty-bourgeois-Communist coalition whose program—land reform, anti-imperialism, pro-labor policies, etc.—never transcended bourgeois bounds. If the Arbenz regime was pro-Communist, why was it supported by Peronist Argentina, the Chilean congress, and a large section of Mexican opinion, including former President Cardenas?

Actually it was not the pro-gov-

BERNARD ROSEN taught history and economics at the American School in Guatemala City for several years and in 1952 conducted a State Department seminar for Guatemalan teachers. Now in this country, he is writing a book on the rise of economic imperialism in Guatemala.

The NATION

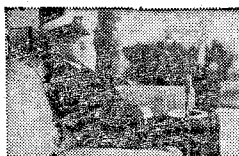
Don't miss the second issue of AMERICAN HERITAGE

The magazine of history in book form

6 BOOKS A YEAR, EACH ONE 8½ X 11 INCHES, 120 PAGES, CASE-BOUND,

EDITOR: Bruce Catton, winner of the 1954 Pulitzer Prize for "A Stillness at Appomattox"

SPONSORS: The Society of American Historians and The American Association for State & Local History



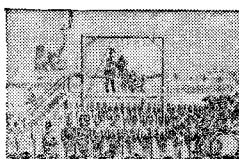
An Intimate View of Four Presidents

BY VICE ADMIRAL WILSON BROWN, USN (RET.). Cal Coolidge got visibly seasick (left) but enjoyed his job more than Hoover. With F.D.R. life at the White House, at sea and at conferences like Yalta was a series of adventures. In a 30,000-word

condensation of a brilliant, unpublished memoir, Admiral Brown, who was Naval Aide to four presidents — from Coolidge to Truman — throws fresh light on history, on the last days of Roosevelt, and on the private lives of the men he served.

★

Each issue of American Heritage will contain excerpts like this from a new and memorable book of history.



The Hanging of John Brown

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT SUPPRESSED FOR 95 YEARS. "Porte Crayon" Strother stood at the foot of the scaffold when the "awful majesty of the law" was executed on the angry prophet of freedom; he reported the fascinating events of

Brown's last hours for *Harper's Weekly*. But the story was suppressed. Here, for its deep historical interest, is a strange "lost" manuscript, with explanatory notes by a Brown expert. Among the illustrations is the sketch (left) made by Strother.

★

Each issue of American Heritage seeks out fresh manuscript material of this kind, for its importance and its excitement.



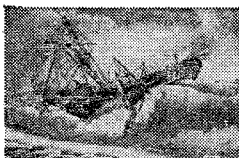
How Good Is Our "Primitive" Folk Art?

A DISSENTING OPINION FROM JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. Much as many Americans, not excepting leading collectors and museums, cherish the awkward early native art disgorged from old attics and barns — praising it as the real, "honest"

art of this country — most of it is nonsense. Or so suggests this leading art historian in a provocative analysis of the "cult of the primitives." Handsomely illustrated in color.

★

Each issue of American Heritage includes a lively, well-documented art feature. (April: The remarkable Peale family.)



Salem Wins a Fortune in the Far Indies

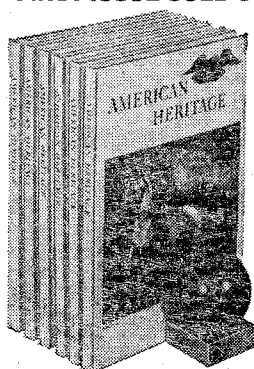
YANKEE ADVENTURERS IN THE CHINA TRADE. This article, lavishly illustrated in color from the great seafaring art collection of the Peabody Museum, recreates the era of the merchant princes of Old Salem and of adventure along the Pepper

Coast and the wharves of Canton. Salem's bold sailors, one of whom appears on the cover (above), plucked the treasure of the Indies and created America's first millionaires. Written by Charles H. P. Copeland of the Peabody Museum.

★

Each issue of American Heritage contains over a dozen valuable articles and departments like those described here.

FIRST ISSUE SOLD OUT: SUBSCRIBE NOW AND SAVE \$7.70 FOR THE YEAR!



AMERICAN HERITAGE • 551 5th AVE.
DEPT. 1401 NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

February 26, 1955

Considerably exceeding all estimates, the first number of American Heritage sold out rapidly — aided by an enthusiastic reception from hundreds of critics who hailed the "authoritative, interesting articles spiced by plenty of four-color illustrations in a handsome, hard-cover, adless book of 120 pages."

Newsweek

"The most ambitious attempt yet made to merge readability with historical scholarship."

ORVILLE PRESCOTT, N. Y. Times

"An extraordinary performance"

JOSEPH HENRY JACKSON, San Francisco Chronicle

"One of the most important, truth-telling, morale-building publishing projects in many years."

STERLING NORTH, Scripps-Howard Newspapers

"Lively... colorful... dramatic and often tragic, but not without its gusty humors and entertaining absurdities... Never overdoes the thing by sacrificing accuracy to achieve an effect... Its information is as authentic as its entertainment."

GERALD W. JOHNSON, N. Y. Post

"If you can't buy, beg or borrow American Heritage, then steal a copy... but not mine!"

CARL VICTOR LITTLE, Houston Press

Rather than take Mr. Little's suggestion too literally and steal your copies, why not make sure you miss no further issues by subscribing now — and at a special introductory saving? Single copies sell in bookstores at \$2.95 — while they last — and a year's set of six issues thus comes to \$17.70. The introductory coupon at right brings you all six 1955 issues for only \$10.00 — saving you \$7.70, or nearly one-third the price of Manhattan Island in 1626. Placed now, your subscription will begin with the current issue.

LIMITED PRESS RUN • WE SUGGEST ORDERING NOW

AMERICAN HERITAGE, DEPT. 1401
551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Please start my one-year subscription to American Heritage immediately, commencing with the current issue, at the special introductory price of \$10.00 for the first year (six issues).

☐ I enclose check or money order.

☐ Please bill me.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

ernment parties but the non-Communist officer caste that kept Arvalo and Arbenz in power for ten years. The non-Communist army was the decisive element in the pro-Arbenz coalition, and it was only after Armas launched his counter-revolution and tremendous pressures were exerted by the United States that the officer caste decided to abandon Arbenz.

Though he has a good word for such small democratic groups in Guatemala as the National Union of Free Workers, which opposed Communist control of the labor movement, and advocates a "progressive" American policy toward Guatemala, Mr. James is clearly in the camp of Guatemalan reaction. He defends the United Fruit Company, which, he says, "has benefited Guatemala in many ways"; he waxes enthusiastic over the "independent" press under Arbenz and refers approvingly to newspapers which any high-school boy in Guatemala knows are scurrilous, fascist-like sheets; he

indorses the activities of troglodyte groups whose anti-communism is a smoke screen behind which they launch their attacks against the moderate reforms brought in by the 1944 revolution; he rejoices over the 1954 Easter pastoral letter against communism issued by Archbishop Rossell y Arellano of the Guatemalan Catholic church, which has consistently opposed reform.

There are times when it appears that Mr. James's anti-communism badly distorts his political vision. His admiring description of the "anti-Communist" market women of Guatemala as fighters for freedom is a travesty of reality. Illiterate, ignorant, and superstitious, those women were aroused against the Arbenz government by a whispering campaign of the church hierarchy to the effect that the government was against God and family.

Mr. James's book is a mediocre, cold-war product. The reader who seeks to understand the Guatemalan situation can learn little from it.

make it clear that Argentina today is an industrialized nation, that only 20 per cent of its population is directly engaged in farming and livestock, that in spite of the billion-plus dollars poured into Brazil by the United States, Argentina, percentage-wise, has successfully maintained its lead over the rest of South America in agriculture, industrial production, trade, and education.

MR. URIBE'S "Brown Gold" is an extraordinarily fine book, with color plates and format matching its contents. Here is the whole story of coffee, from the wild bush-trees of Abyssinia and Kenya down to the steaming cup on the American breakfast table; included are exciting new recipes.

Here is an industry, supplying the largest single item in the United States imports, ranging from primitive ill-paid production at the source up to the highest modern techniques on the processing and consumer levels. Prior to the Arbenz regime, Guatemalan coffee-pickers earned 15 cents a day. Recently weighers and samplers in the United States went on strike for more than \$20 a day. These discrepancies are catching up with the American coffee companies.

If devil-drumming Congressmen and the members of the Federal Trade Commission had read Mr. Uribe's book, they would not have made such public fools of themselves over the coffee question. "Brown Gold" is jolly reading, though the author manages to tuck in a devastating account of economic relations between Latin America and the United States. His suggestions are sensible and constructive. Wherever there are "man, water, and fire," there will be coffee, and Mr. Uribe's book is likely to have a long life as the outstanding book on the subject.

American Hero Worship

THE SELF-MADE MAN IN AMERICA. By Irving G. Wyllie. Rutgers. \$4.

Though it is subtitled "The Myth of Rags to Riches," Professor Wyllie's book has a more serious intention than to debunk our traditional worship of the almighty dollar and our deifying of the self-made captain of industry. With scholarly detachment, clarity, and taste it pre-

Argentine Facts

THE UNITED STATES AND ARGENTINA. By Arthur P. Whitaker. Harvard University Press. \$4.75.

BROWN GOLD. THE AMAZING STORY OF COFFEE. By Andres Uribe. G. Random House. \$5.

By Carleton Beals

MR. WHITAKER'S excellent book on Argentina avoids the Calvinistic emotionalism and the chauvinism which taint contemporary United States reporting on foreign countries. He looks at Argentina from the viewpoint of Argentine traditions and social forces and puts it in proper focus with Latin American culture.

Whatever shortcomings the small book may have are due not to lack of scholarship or any misrepresentation but to space limitations, which have required over-simplification and too limited treatment of a number of crucial matters, particularly the church, oil, and the land. No

mention is made of the *Ley de Peon*, which revolutionized rural labor standards and permitted rural workers and peasants for the first time in Argentine history to organize and vote, however hollow that privilege may seem. The percentage increase of leaders from the interior in the Peron bureaucracy is also indicative of the decline of the influence of the foreign-corporation lawyers who so long dominated wide spheres of Argentine politics.

As Mr. Whitaker points out, the mainstays of Peron's regime are the army and labor, but this does not provide the clue to the real trend of events, for his government is neither militaristic nor a labor government. His long conflict with the wheat and meat barons—this was the chief reason *La Prensa* was turned over to the workers—needs to be emphasized for it resulted in the draining off of profits to promote native industry and a strong mixed economy. The temporary alliance of labor, army, and native capital is more or less similar to the direction the Mexican revolution took. A large share of the middle class also supports Peron.

Whitaker's illuminating statistics

CARLETON BEALS, author and lecturer, spent many years in Latin America. His latest book is "Our Yankee Heritage."

sents a history and analysis of American ideals of success.

As the Industrial Revolution developed in the early nineteenth century the wealthy business man became the national hero. This was inevitable in a democratic, classless society dedicated to the principle that all men were born equal. Only one American boy could become President every four or eight years, but there were unlimited places at the top in business and industry which any boy could reach by hard work and the practice of a few elementary virtues like honesty, sobriety, and obedience—to his employer. This doctrine was proclaimed in the churches by most of the leading ministers of the day. Success books became the best-sellers of the time; Emerson's essays extolled the virtue of self-reliance and the power for good in great wealth. What little dissent there was came from scattered negligible voices—a few aristocrats who clung to the cult of good family and a college education, a small minority of political rebels, and shiftless loafers like Thoreau.

With the rise of the impersonal corporation Americans began to realize that there was not so much room at the top as they had been led to believe. They came to understand that not only individual effort and the homely virtues but circumstances and the economic setup—to say nothing of franchises, rebates, and other external aids—had created the supposedly self-made captains of industry. It was sometimes difficult to distinguish the financial gods from the "malefactors of great wealth." But in spite of increasing disillusionment and sophistication the doctrine of wealth as the measure of success and of individual effort as the sure means of obtaining it is still dominant in America today.

CORRECTION:

As advertised on the back page of our issue of February 19, purchase may be made through The Nation of the authorized version of "The Investigator," a recording of the Canadian Broadcasting Company's hilarious burlesque of Senator McCarthy. Inadvertently, however, we used with the advertisement a reproduction of the disc and dust cover of an unauthorized recording, which are nearly identical with those of the genuine. We apologize. Nation readers may be assured that, in ordering through this magazine, they will get the authorized recording.—THE EDITORS.

February 26, 1955

INAUGURATING

The Kelmscott Editions

KELMSCOTT EDITIONS is a unique effort to rescue the illuminating, the challenging and the unusual books from oblivion or neglect.

In the simplest and most uncomplicated way, KELMSCOTT EDITIONS will make 8 such books, many now out of print and inaccessible, available to subscribers at consistently low prices.

KELMSCOTT EDITIONS is *not* a book club. There is nothing to join. There are no obligations of any kind. You merely let us know that you want to receive — at no cost whatever — the issues of THE KELMSCOTT QUARTERLY which will announce, describe and discuss the forthcoming books. All readers of THE KELMSCOTT QUARTERLY who wish to do so may send their advance orders, with remittances, to secure copies of what must necessarily be a, *more or less*, limited edition. *No books are sent to anyone unless specifically ordered.*

For the complete prospectus and the first issue of THE KELMSCOTT QUARTERLY, and if you wish, a sampler copy of either or both of the first two books at *Subscribers' Prices*, use the form below.

THE KELMSCOTT EDITIONS, 251 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10

☐ You may send me the regular issues of THE KELMSCOTT QUARTERLY without any charge or obligation of any kind.

☐ You may send me a copy of each of the selections checked below at the Subscribers' Price, plus 25¢ per copy for postage and handling. (In New York City please add 6¢ for sales tax).

☐ for April: BUSINESS AS A SYSTEM OF POWER by Robert A. Brady, Professor of Economics, University of California. List Price \$3.75. Subscribers' Price \$2.25 plus 25¢ for postage and handling.

☐ for June: BOOKS THAT CHANGED OUR MINDS, Edited by Malcolm Cowley & Bernard Smith. This book is nowhere else available. To Subscribers only \$2.00 plus 25¢ for postage and handling.

Name (PLEASE PRINT) _____

Address _____

City _____

Zone _____ State _____

I enclose ☐ check ☐ money order

Buy Books Through The Nation

Theater and Films

Robert Hatch

A LITTLE profundity is a dangerous thing. Melodrama is a surface affair, a net of thrills and terrors mechanically spun for momentary amusement; it is a mock battle of life, and since nothing in it is real we can be entertained without being engaged. But it seems now that our melodramatists have lost their innocence and become ashamed of their station in life. Not content to be showmen, they aspire to engage our hearts and minds as well as our nerves. This happens, no doubt, because they feel the real shock and terror of the day; but it often appears that they have nothing to say to the heart and mind, and then their pretensions are exposed.

You see this all the time in the movies and you can see it now in Joseph Hayes's "The Desperate Hours" (Barrymore Theater), which is a novel passing across the stage on its way to Hollywood. The play is a pretty piece of desperation: a trio of escaped convicts has gone to earth in the suburban house of an average family, and the problem is to flush them out of there so they can be captured or killed without serious damage to their unwilling hosts. Since one of the villains is a lunatic and another a mental deficient with a liquor problem, and since the family includes a pretty girl in her late teens and a boy of twelve with delusions of heroism, the level of excitement can be maintained at a very high pitch. But this is amusement only if the author keeps it on the surface, and Hayes is determined to probe. He must search out motives and psyches; stage touching scenes between father and son, husband and wife; beg compassion for his sick and suffering characters. When you respond to this appeal, however, you discover that the purpose of the play is really frivolous. Once you believe in the existence of lunacy and horror and wanton killing, they are no longer fit topics for idle entertainment, but entertainment is all that Hayes has to offer.

Robert Montgomery has staged "The Desperate Hours" as a tight and lucid production in a pleasant,

mechanically efficient set by Howard Bay. Karl Malden, as the head of the beleaguered household, drags the play across its gaping embarrassments by the force of personality. Paul Newman, playing the head hoodlum, works earnestly to add a new portrait to the modern gallery of juvenile delinquents, but he never has a chance. The part is really impossible—a little Freud, a little Marlon Brando, a lot of spitting and bad words. It is too revolting for entertainment, too synthetic for serious attention: being the focal character, it thus epitomizes the play.

YOU HAVE to hand it to Louis de Rochemont and the associated proprietors of Cinerama—they are making a fortune out of their awkward brain child. Cinerama does a few things rather well and most things rather badly. It is a dandy device for making the audience think it is sitting in the cockpit of a jet or in the front seat of a bobsled, and the most gratifying screams are forthcoming at such moments. Further than that, its wide angle of vision handles the "wow" type of landscape

very capably. But it gets uncomfortably crowded in any set smaller than the nave of Notre Dame, and it can no more tell a dramatic sequence than an elephant can thread a needle.

So the second Cinerama production—called "Cinerama Holiday"—is, like the first, a two-hour demonstration of what the equipment can do. A "story" is provided by taking an American couple to Europe and bringing a Swiss couple to America as guests of the management. The fortunate pairs were selected because, never having been anywhere before and never having tried to act, their reactions would be "sincere." That they are.

The equipment does not seem much changed from the first demonstration. The three sections of film still show sharp divisions on the screen, the sound projection is still much too loud, and the action at far left and right on the screen still goes out of optical control. The travelogue shots contain some good material—skiing at Davos, a New England county fair, a New Orleans jazz band, a jet take-off. Say in all a half-hour of first-rate short subjects. To enjoy the rest you must have an extremely absorbent mind.

[Mr. Hatch will review both plays and films while Mr. Clurman is in Europe.]

Music

B. H. Haggin

THE image I had retained of Escudero for twenty years was that of his silhouette, which now again—as it is momentarily fixed in a pose, or as it changes from one pose to the next—has a contained outline, an elegance and distinction that make it very exciting, and the more so for being combined with footwork that is now quietly intricate, now spectacular in its brilliance and force, and with a counterpoint from castanets or fingernails that is now rhythmically subtle and now witty. Age doesn't permit him to do more—to do, for example, what young Jose Barrera does so brilliantly and beautifully in the final "Cuadro Flamenco"; but the art that Escudero

does exhibit is rich and satisfying. Among the women too it is Carmite Gracia, his partner for many years, who exhibits in her very first dance, "La Tapada de Vejer," an intricate suppleness of her entire body that is breath-taking, and whose dancing is outstanding throughout the evening. And in addition to the dancing there is remarkable playing of the guitar by Mario Escudero.

Beethoven's earlier and smaller-scale Mass in C Op. 86 is less known to the public than the great Missa Solemnis and than it deserves to be with its occasional startlingly beautiful and expressive passages and powerful dramatic strokes. And so it was a good thing for Margaret

The NATION

Hillis to perform the work with her New York Concert Choir. This was the first time I had heard the chorus in a hall; and it sang with energy, precision, and good tone—though not with the extraordinary refinement and transparency of choral tone that I recall hearing most recently from William Jonson's Choral Art Society in the performances of Berlioz's "L'Enfance du Christ."

The collective brainstorms of the New York reviewers every now and then are like nothing so much as the sudden commotions in barnyard that flare up and die out for no discoverable reason. There was the one about Maryla Jonas several years ago; and last year there was the one about Backhaus. It was set off by his recital in Carnegie Hall on March 30, 1954, after an absence of twenty-eight years, which elicited from Mr. Downes the opinion that it "must be ranked as one of the greatest evenings of the interpretation of Beethoven's piano music heard here in as long a period," and from one of the others the statement that Backhaus had "played Beethoven as he hasn't been played here in twenty-eight years." I hadn't attended the recital; but I found the statements difficult to believe—not only because of my recollections of performances of Beethoven by Schnabel in those twenty-eight years, but because of what I remembered of Backhaus's playing before 1926 and what I had heard more recently on his records. In the twenties he had been a pianist of prodigious technical powers who had produced the figurations of Chopin's Etudes and the Paganini-Brahms Variations with incandescent ease and grace; but a pianist also of completely phlegmatic temperament whose playing of music of high expressive content was at best dull, and even worse when he tried for expressiveness. And recent records had revealed an inevitable loss of the dazzling speed and smoothness in Chopin's Etudes, with no gain in ability to give expressive effect to a Beethoven sonata.

As it happened the recital was recorded and has now been issued on London LL-110/9; and the performances justify my skepticism. Listening first to Op. 31 No. 2 I was shocked first by the crude ac-

centuation in the opening section of the first movement—crude in its treatment not only of the music but of the instrument—then by the sentimentalizing expansion of tempo in certain melodic phrases. The slow movement and finale were played simply and agreeably to the ear, but the simplicity amounted to ineffectiveness: notes merely succeeded each other, now soft, now loud, but with no cohesive tension from one note to the next, no giving of continuous outline to the phrase, of coherent shape to the movement. This is the ineffective way he plays Op. 81a; and it is the disastrous way he plays Op. 111. It is hard to believe that anyone—and least of all a pianist of Backhaus's age and experience—could play the introduction to the first movement of Op. 111 without awareness of what is happening in it—awareness, for example, of the increasing dramatic suspense in measures 6 to 9 as the increasingly hushed chords of the two hands draw closer together in the middle of the piano, and the dramatic effect produced after this by the left hand's low octave; but Backhaus's perfunctory playing of this passage, and indeed of the entire introduction, is on the record for all time to demonstrate the actuality of the unbelievable. And so with the passage that momentarily interrupts the course of the slow movement—the continuing trills up above creating tension and suspense in which the left hand strikes in powerfully down below: it is hard to believe anyone could play this with the unawareness that Backhaus demonstrates with his perfunctory playing of it.

I should add that comparable insensitiveness was exhibited in Mr. Downes's review of Backhaus's performance of this movement, when he referred to "the often inept and ill-considered spacings of the writing of the deaf master." Mr. Downes appears to have listened to his friend Horowitz instead of listening to Beethoven. It is depressing to think of a pianist with Horowitz's technical competence not having the musical understanding that would enable him to perceive the expressive effect achieved with absolute precision and rightness by those trills continuing up above while the left hand strikes in down below, and not having the humility that would keep him from

Soviet Literature

A Monthly Magazine Of
Literature & The Arts

*Recent contributors
have included*

ULANOVA

A dancer's schooling

EHRENBURG

Italian films

OBRAZTSOV

Puppeteers visit London

GORKY

Reminiscences of Chekhov

LEONOV

*Extract from his new novel
'Russian Forest'*

New writing, poetry, drama,
reviews, art and literary
criticism, colour plates

PRICE 30c, POST FREE
ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION—\$1.80

From all booksellers or
Collet's Bookshops
44/45 Museum Street, Dept. R
LONDON, W.C.1

February 26, 1955

PUBLICATIONS

JUST RECEIVED FROM THE USSR

VILIS LACIS THE FISHERMAN'S SON (In English)

This very interesting novel depicts the courageous lives of the Latvian fisher folk. Describes with deep affection the austere Baltic scenery. Illustrated 580 p.p. \$1.50

A. S. PUSHKIN'S Famous story THE CAPTAIN'S DAUGHTER (In English)

Illustrated, well bound 163 pp. 85c

KONDRAVTSEV
Life and work of the great Russian scientist of the 18th century

M. V. LOMONOSOV price 50c

Again in stock two famous novels:
KONSTANTIN SEDIN'S
EARLY JOYS
659 pp \$1.50

NO ORDINARY SUMMER

In 2 vols.—1207 pp. \$2.25 for set

WIDE CHOICE OF NEW SOVIET
RECORDINGS, REGULAR & LP
Ask for our Free Catalog E-55 & "Periodica"

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 St. 822 B'way (cor. 12 St.)
N. Y. 19 N. Y. 3
GRamercy 3-2018-19

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

FREE catalogs on Social-economics Movements, etc. regularly from: The Hammer-Smith Bookshop, Beadon Rd., London, W6, England.

5th AMENDMENT TODAY, by Harvard's Dean Griswold. Three brilliant speeches. 82p book. Cloth \$2; paper 50c. Wellington's, 346 Concord, Belmont, Mass.

Buy Your Books

through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

CONSUMERS' GUIDE TO TROTSKYISM

1955 CONVERTIBLE
THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST: ORGAN OF THE NEW TROTSKYISM
CAN TROTSKYISM BE PRO-SOVIET?
THE CATCH-ALL OF AMBIGUOUS SOCIALISM
IN FEBRUARY ISSUE OF

TURNING POINT

PUBLISHED BY COMMUNIST LEAGUE

15c From P. O. Box 84, Middtown Sta., New York 18, N.Y. or at Newsstand, S. W. Corner 42nd St. and Sixth Avenue

MEETINGS

FRIDAY, MAR 4-8:30

GERMANY REARMED

—SECURITY OR PERIL?

A Clash of Opinion

SPEAKERS:

HON. CLAUDE G. BOWERS
U. S. Ambassador to Republican Spain
HOWARD WATSON AMBRUSTER
Expert on German Cartels, I. G. Farben

PROF. EMIL J. GUMBEL
Columbia, Berlin U. ('53-54), New School

B. Z. GOLDBERG
Columnist, Ex-Managing Ed., "Jewish Day"

Questions • Refreshments
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86 St., N. Y.

Contrib: 85c

Tuesday MARCH 1 at 8:30 P.M.

HEAR

PETER FREUCHEN

Author, "Vagrant Viking", and Leader
Anti-Nazi Underground Movement in
Denmark

on THE REARMAMENT OF GERMANY

Admission Free
At HOTEL WOODSTOCK, 127 W. 43 St.
Auspices: Americans for Progressive Israel

TESTIMONIAL DINNER DR. BENZION LIBER

Prof. of Psychiatry at the Polyclinic Medical School
Author and Lecturer

In recognition of his 50 years of public service on
the occasion of his 80th birthday.

Sunday, March 13, 7 P.M. at Hotel Empire Crystal
Ballroom, 63 Street and Broadway, New York City
DR. LIBER TESTIMONIAL DINNER COMM.
161 W. 56 Street, Room 602, N. Y. 19
\$5.00 Per Person—Reservations Necessary

LECTURES

ECONOMICS FOR THE WORKING MAN

A series of 13 lectures presenting a systematic analysis of our economy by

PROFESSOR OTTO NATHAN
for many years teacher and lecturer at
colleges and in workers' education.
Tuesdays, 8:15 P.M.—Single Lecture 50c,
Series \$5.

LABOR TEMPLE, 242 E. 14 St., N.Y.C.

PERSONALS

BEAUTIFUL RURAL HOME, Bucks County, Pa., available without rental, to responsible single person, who desires to live in the country year-round; owner home weekends; restful; stimulating locale artist, writer; car necessary. Please write: Box 392, % The Nation.

HI FI PHONO—3 speakers—popular make. Regularly \$129.95. SPECIAL AT DEALER'S NET—\$84. Standard Brand Dist., 143-4th Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking, on 2 tokens.

BUY

UNITED STATES

SAVINGS BONDS

calling his lack of understanding a miscalculation by Beethoven. But it is appalling to think of a reviewer in Mr. Downes's position and with his influence on the public not having the musical understanding that would enable him to perform his function—which is to rebuke Horowitz's ignorance and arrogance, not to be taken in by them.

Letters

(Continued from inside cover)

have done." (I said all that in so many words in the piece. Braden, Communist Party member or not, has done, in my view, absolutely nothing to be punished for.) As to whether he conspired to bomb for agitation, I quoted the newspapermen who know him best as full of disbelief.

I think Millis is distressed that I did not sound a high note of indignation, but I long ago learned that you cannot always use the top of your voice and have any room left for emphasis. I think my reporting was factual, and that from my report the ire of any man concerned for civil liberties will be stirred—as was Millis's—to some action.

I cannot prove that Braden was or was not a Communist; I cannot prove either that he bought the house simply "for a friend" or that he bought it to "inflamm" the inflammable. I named the evidence and pointed out the probabilities and the improbabilities. I said the fault here is not Braden's but the law's—the Kentucky Smith Act—and that it is the law which must now be tried.

I may say to close that despite Mr. Millis's low view of the "effect" of my reporting, I hope both Braden and his sinned-against liberties have been in a measure aided.

Key West, Fla. JENNINGS PERRY

"Declaration"

Dear Sir: Kay Boyle's account of Dylan Thomas in her article, A Declaration for 1955, in the January 29 issue recalls to mind the question asked by William Butler Yeats: "How can the arts overcome the slow dying of men's hearts that we call progress of the world and lay their hands humbly on men's heartstrings again without becoming the garment of religion as in the old time?"

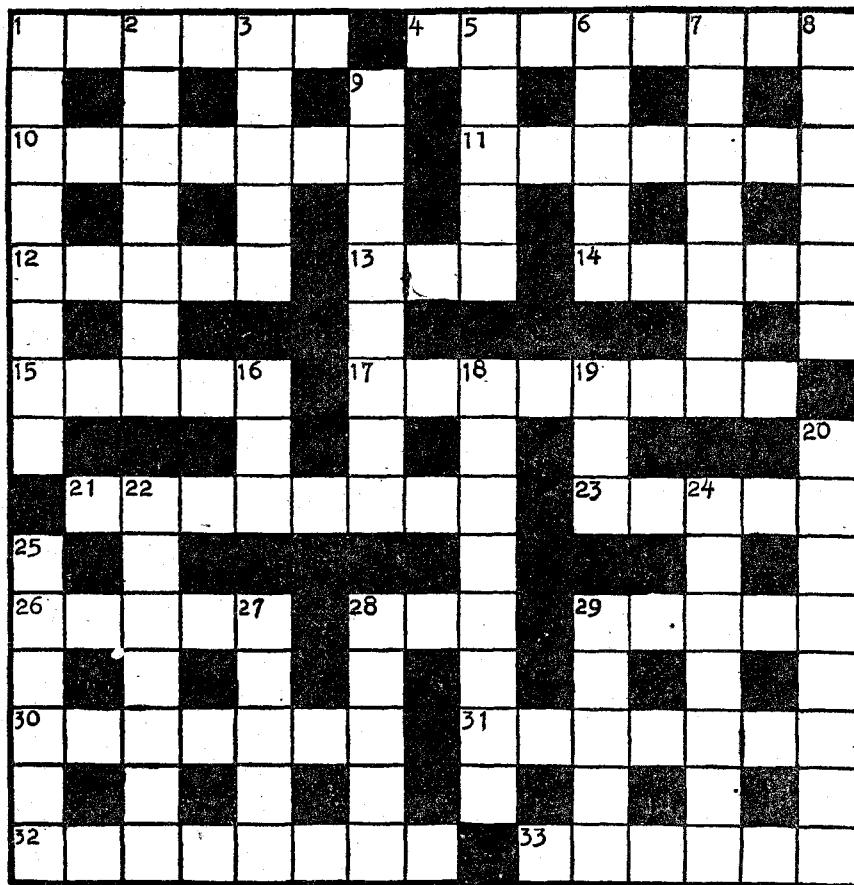
I recall, too, the remark of a distinguished scientist, "Science has no heart; science has no soul," which is exemplified so tragically in our world today. And not only in politics, but in the great professions. Today we realize clearly that if science wins there will be no humanity left. Man's problem is to restore art to its place in the world, to make living an art.

MRS. M. F. SEYMOUR
Tallahassee, Fla.

The NATION

Crossword Puzzle No. 608

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 and 5 down Portes? (6, 5)
- 4 The sort of demon not found in Canada. (8)
- 10 A bad poem set to the wrong tune. (7)
- 11 Just to let us get passages? (7)
- 12 Flimsy, perhaps, but what comes back always seems to come back! (5)
- 13 Lettuce in the sea. (3)
- 14 The swanky type. (5)
- 15 Whitish green outside or inside. (5)
- 17 New in New York, like a bad spot in a rotten core. (8)
- 21 Habituate. (8)
- 23 See 7 down.
- 26 The way to entertain as a matinee custom. (5)
- 28 See 8 down.
- 29 Cover both sides of the border, perhaps. (5)
- 30 This sort of cocktail might give one a lift. (7)
- 31 Is Russia's marked with an asterisk? (7)
- 32 Air sack used by sailors? (5, 3)
- 33 Remained appeased. (6)

DOWN

- 1 A party lets the grease out, perhaps. (4-4)
- 2 Grass to spare! (7)
- 3 A full complement of men about a poet. (5)

- 5 See 1 across.
- 6 See 7 down.
- 7 6 and 23 across Implying the dentifrice has notches on the edges? (3, 4, 2, 3, 5)
- 8 and 28 across A shelter in the sun's destroyed. (6, 3)
- 9 Part of the engine turns over, even if overweight. (8)
- 16 R and S would join this and 19 for the reader. (3)
- 18 Comes to a rather unconscious solution. (8)
- 19 See 16 down. (3)
- 20 A minister meshed in a scene rose to the heights. (8)
- 22 A stroke allowed a pair with the same number of feet. (7)
- 24 Careful in the ward! (7)
- 25 Interfered with, yet well preserved. (6)
- 27 You don't gain this by using 11, unless you go wrong. (5)
- 28 and 29 You do for a pump. (4, 1, 5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 607

ACROSS: 1 CAPITAL ACCOUNTS; 9 and 24 down ROUND OF GOLF; 10 ASIATIC; 11. URSULA; 12 ADHESION; 14 APPARENTLY; 15 ERIC; 17 INCH; 19 THE EGG AND I; 22 GRENOBLE; 23 STAGED; 25 ARMIGER; 26 ONTARIO; 27 STRAIGHT-FORWARD. DOWN: 1 CIRCULATING FANS; 2 PLUGS UP; 3 TODDLERS; 4 and 13 LEFT IN THE LURCH; 5 CHANDELIER; 6 OLIVES; 7 NUTTIER; 8 SECOND CHILDHOOD; 16 AGITATOR; 18 CREAMER; 20 NIGERIA; 21 MOWGLI.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA

157 West 56 Street
New York City

Gypsy Orchestra
Dining — Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

REAL ESTATE

TAX-EXEMPT INDUSTRIAL SITES

54 Acres — Jersey City
for lease to tenants who may
erect their own tax-exempt
buildings, or we will build
20,000 to One Million square feet
for lease to acceptable tenants.
L. N. ROSENBAUM & SON
565 Fifth Ave., New York 17

CAMERAS ETC.

GERMAN CAMERAS & BINOCULARS.
Import your own. Savings up to 35% on
new Zeiss, Rolleiflex, Exakta, and all other
makes. Experienced, intelligent, (and ob-
jective) advisory service for the technician
or hobbyist. Please specify interests and re-
quirements. Immediate airmail reply. World-
post, Tangier International Zone, Morocco.

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY

RADIO-PHONOGRAPH

sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS

217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

CHINCHILLAS—You Raise Them. We buy
Them. Small capital can show terrific
profits at home in your spare time. Free
booklet explains our new lease plan. Box 97,
Little Neck, New York.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74c a line (6 words)

Three-line minimum

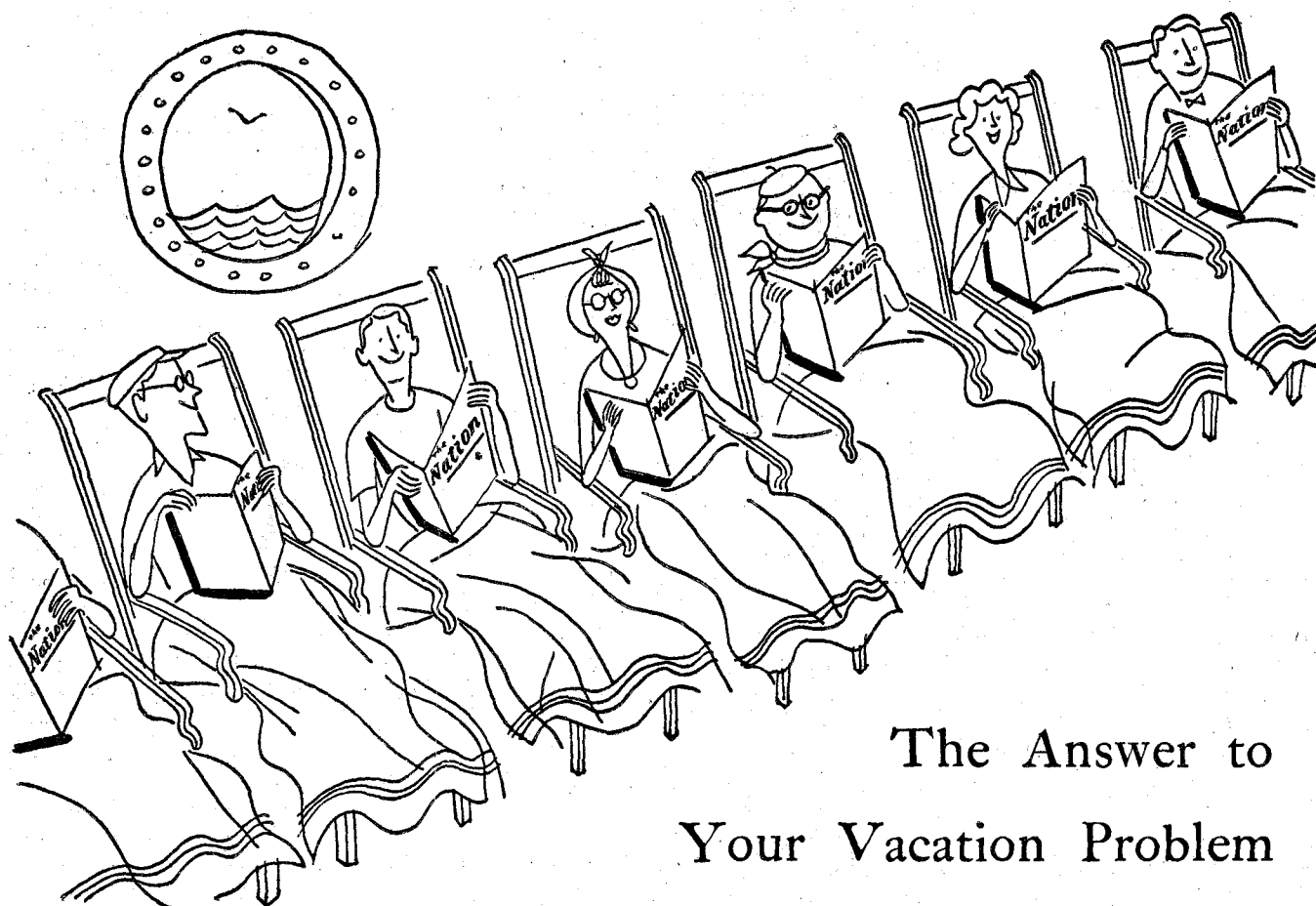
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per Inch (minimum)

Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400



The Answer to Your Vacation Problem

A SPECIAL TOUR FOR NATION READERS

THIS SUMMER PLAN to visit Western Europe on *The Nation's* special tour. Here is a rare opportunity to speak to Members of Parliament, Deputies and other government leaders; to meet with men who help guide Europe's destiny in these crucial times; to get at first-hand a fuller understanding of what is taking place in Europe today. You will visit England, France, Western Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland on a tour planned by *The Nation* and the well-known travel agency, World Studytours.

THERE WILL also be ample time for sight-seeing and recreation. You will see Stratford-on-Avon, Chester—earliest example of a medieval walled town remaining in England—the many fascinating sights of London; in Germany there will be time to enjoy the view from the "Alter Zoll" high above the Rhine, to visit Beethoven's home, the Munster, the University; in France you will visit the Louvre, the Opera, the Boulevards, the Sorbonne, Notre Dame—and also enjoy a taste of Parisian night life.

THE TOUR will be led by Colston Warne, Professor of Economics at Amherst, and President of the Board of Directors of Consumer's Union.

THE TRIP, by boat, begins June 24; by air, July 1. You will return to the states August 10 (by air) and August 17 by ship. The all-inclusive fee covers all transportation, all hotels, all meals, the full program of sightseeing, visits, interviews, discussions and entertainment; the guidance of Professor Warne and the services of organizers, guides and interpreters in each country. By ship the cost is \$1,320 (tourist class); by air, the cost is \$1,445 (Sabena Tourist Flight.) For further information and applications fill out the coupon on this page.

THE NATION, Travel Department, 333 Sixth Avenue, NYC 14. Please send me your brochure on *The Nation's* European trip and the necessary application forms. (Request for this material does not obligate you in any way.)

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY Z STATE

2-26-55